WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

30

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В. И. ЛЕНИН

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V. I. LENIN

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From Marx to Mao

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PREFACE

Volume Thirty contains Lenin's speeches and writings for the period between September 1919 and April 1920—the period when foreign armed intervention and the Civil War had reached their peak and were followed by a temporary lull after the defeat of Kolchak and Denikin.

These speeches and articles demonstrate the great variety of the work done by Lenin in guiding the activities of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state.

Most of the speeches, reports and articles deal with questions of the defence of the socialist fatherland, the organisation of the Soviet state and the consolidation of the ranks of the Bolshevik Party. A considerable part of the volume, however, consists of Lenin's speeches at non-party conferences of workers and Red Army soldiers, at congresses of the trade unions of water transport workers, miners and textile workers, and at a congress of working Cossacks. These are speeches addressed to the people, in which Lenin appealed for the greater unity of the people at home and the army at the front, for support for the Red Army and for active participation in the work of restoring the economy and in the government of the country. Lenin's writings inculcated upon the masses a spirit of staunchness, heroism, self-sacrifice and iron discipline, and infused in them faith in their own strength and in victory.

In several of the articles in this volume Lenin develops the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an instrument for the organisation of socialist society. Lenin compares Soviet democracy to false, bourgeois democracy; he exposes the West-European socialists, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries as traitors to socialism and lackeys of imperialism for defending the dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie under the flag of "pure democracy".

This is the subject-matter of the articles "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat", "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", "A Publicist's Notes" and others.

In his "Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine Apropos of the Victories over Denikin", "To the Communists of Turkestan", "Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East, November 22, 1919", and the "Draft Resolution of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on Soviet Rule in the Ukraine", Lenin explains the nature of the nationalities policy of the Soviet government and stresses the point that victory over the foreign military interventionists and internal counter-revolution is possible only if the formerly oppressed peoples rally around the Russian people.

In his "Speech Delivered at the First Congress of Agricultural Communes and Agricultural Artels, December 4, 1919" and his "Report on Subbotniks Delivered to a Moscow City Conference of the R.C.P.(B.), December 20, 1919", and in his article "From the Destruction of the Old Social System to the Creation of the New" Lenin deals with questions of the socialist reconstruction of the country, the creation of new, socialist forms of labour in industry and agriculture. The "Report on the Work of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars Delivered at the First Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Seventh Convocation, February 2, 1920" was first published in full in the Fourth (Russian) Edition of the *Collected Works*; in this report Lenin gave his reasons why a plan for the electrification of Russia had to be prepared.

The items contained in the present volume include considerable material on questions of the organisation of economic management, the increasing of the proportion of workers in the state apparatus, the participation of trade unions in economic development and the struggle against bureaucratic methods. In his "Letter to R.C.P. Organisations on Preparations for the Party Congress" and his reports and speeches delivered at the Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), the Third All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions and others, Lenin took a stand on the necessity for one-man

management, an improvement in labour discipline and enhanced responsibility of the individual in the management of industrial enterprises. Lenin dealt a serious rebuff to the supporters of the anti-Party "democratic centralism" group whose policy would have led to irresponsibility in industrial management.

In his speech on "The Tasks of the Working Women's Movement in the Soviet Republic" and the articles "Soviet Power and the Status of Women", "To the Working Women" and "International Working Women's Day" Lenin shows the hard position of the woman and her lack of rights under capitalism and explains how much Soviet power has given to women; he calls upon women to take an active part in the economic, social and political life of the country.

In the articles "How the Bourgeoisie Utilises Renegades" and "Greetings to Italian, French and German Communists", and in the "Draft (or Theses) of the R.C.P.'s Reply to the Letter of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany" Lenin, as the leader of the world working-class movement, gives guidance to the Communist Parties in the spirit of loyalty to the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism, mustering the best of the revolutionary proletariat around the Communist International.

Fourteen documents included in the present volume were published for the first time in the Fourth (Russian) Edition of the *Collected Works*.

The group of documents containing answers to correspondents of the newspapers *The Chicago Daily News* and *Daily Express*, and of the Universal Service deal mainly with questions of the foreign policy of Soviet power. In his replies Lenin stressed the consistent desire of Soviet Russia for peace and the establishment of commercial relations with all capitalist countries; he also exposed the imperialists as warmongers.

Two speeches appeared for the first time in an edition of the *Collected Works* in the Fourth (Russian) Edition from which this translation has been made—the "Speech at a Meeting in Presnya District on the Anniversary of the December Uprising, 1905, December 19, 1919", and the "Speech at the Third All-Russia Conference of Directors of Adult

Education Divisions of Gubernia Education Departments, February 25, 1920"; new also are the letter of greetings "To the Bureau of the Women's Congress in Petrograd Gubernia" and the "Draft Decisions and Directives on Co-operatives".

In the letter "To the Communist Comrades Who Belonged to the United 'Communist Party of Germany' and Have Now Formed a New Party" and in the unfinished article "On Compromises" Lenin makes some statements on the tactics of the fraternal Communist Parties.

V. I. LENIN
1920

SPEECH AT A NON-PARTY CONFERENCE OF THE WORKERS AND MEN OF THE RED ARMY OF BASMANNY, LEFORTOVO, ALEXEYEVSKOYE AND SOKOLNIKI DISTRICTS[1] SEPTEMBER 3, 1919

Comrades, permit me to greet your non-party conference of workers and men of the Red Army, together with Red Commanders graduating from the artillery courses. This conference has been called to discuss problems of strengthening our state system and our state machinery.

In all countries the working-class masses are oppressed. They do not enjoy the benefits of capitalist civilisation, although the working people should by rights constitute the basis of all state life. In our country, comrades, the working people are the basis, the foundation of the Soviet Republic. After the triumph of the working people in February 1917, Soviets made their appearance throughout Russia. The idea of the Soviets did not originate in 1917 for they were born as far back as 1905. Even then Soviets of Workers' Deputies existed. After the October Revolution Soviet power met with the sympathy of workers in all countries, something that can be explained by profound internal causes.

Allow me, comrades, to say something about the main principles of political life in Soviet Russia. I am not in possession of exact material demonstrating the economic situation of our Republic; other speakers will no doubt deal with this, especially with the food policy of the workers' and peasants' government; I shall deal only with the political aspect.

To get a better picture of the basic principle of Soviet power we must take a backward glance, we must examine the course taken by our revolution, beginning from 1917. There were two periods in our revolution—one was the period of the Kerensky policy and the Kornilov revolt that preceded Soviet power, the other was the period of Kaledin, Kolchak and Denikin[2] who tried to destroy Soviet power. Non-party workers, members of the working classes, must ask themselves why these two periods occurred and why they are interconnected.

Comrades, every worker, every man of the Red Army, every member of the working classes must give thought to the reason our Soviet power is accused of terrorism, why it is said that the Bolsheviks are dictators, that the Bolsheviks are cut-throats. On the other hand, every member of the working classes should ask himself why the power of Kerensky, Kaledin and Kolchak collapsed so easily. You all know that at the time Kerensky was in power, Russia was covered with a network of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, and that side by side with them, the bourgeoisie held all power in their own hands. The bourgeoisie were supported by the Allies, who wanted Russia to continue the war; the Russian bourgeoisie, too, wanted to continue the war in order to get hold of the Dardanelles. That is why Kerensky's bourgeois government, supported by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, did not want to and could not publish the treaties concluded between the government of Nicholas the Bloody and the Allies. In this way the bourgeoisie, by a fraud and with the aid of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, maintained their power over the masses of the working people.

You all remember that there were very few Bolsheviks in the Soviets at the beginning of the 1917 revolution. I remember that at the time of the First Congress of Soviets in June, the Bolsheviks did not make up even a seventh part of the delegates. The bourgeoisie and the so-called socialist parties of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries said of us that the Bolsheviks might have a corrupting influence on the masses. But what was Kerensky's bourgeois government doing at this time? They were feeding the working people with promises that were never fulfilled. The land law was

never promulgated. But when the land committees tried to take over the landed estates for distribution among the poor peasants, the committees were arrested. It became obvious to the working people that this government would give them nothing. They began to realise that only their own power, the power of the workers and poor peasants, would give them anything.

It was at this time that Kornilov launched his attack on Petrograd. It was not something casual, it derived from the fraudulent policy of Kerensky's government that had all the time tried to reconcile landowners and peasants, working people and exploiters, labour and capital. And then the landowners, officers and capitalists wanted to take all power into their own hands. That is why the Kornilov revolt broke out. The Soviets realised the danger and mustered their forces against Kornilov. And when Kerensky's bourgeois government continued its policy of deception even after this, the workers soon became more politically conscious and at the same time the number of Bolsheviks in the Soviets began rapidly to increase, even before the October Revolution. When we took power into our hands in October, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who strutted freely around Smolny,[3] warned us threateningly that the front would move up and wipe us off the face of the earth. We laughed in their faces in reply because we knew that the working people would understand our explanations, that they supported the power of the working people and, consequently, the power of the Soviets. And so it was; when numerous delegations came to Petrograd from the front we explained to them the real state of affairs and they all came over to our side. That is an object lesson for you non-party working people. Everyone who works, every factory worker, every man of the Red Army, must learn a lesson from the history of the Kerensky government, who, I repeat, wanted to reconcile the interests of the landowners and peasants, workers and employers, labour and capital.

It seemed that the Kerensky government ought to have been a strong one because the Allied bourgeois governments promised to support it, nevertheless it collapsed. The Kerensky government collapsed because it was founded on deception and had no ground under its feet. The Kerensky

government promised the working people universal elections, but only to cast dust in their eyes and distract their attention from the real state of affairs. For this reason, when the proletariat took power into its own hands after the October Revolution, it immediately organised its own government bodies, the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

The workers' and peasants' government straightaway rejected the false policy of Kerensky's bourgeois government. The first act of the Council of People's Commissars was the publication of the secret treaties concluded between the government of Nicholas the Bloody and our former Allies. The workers' and peasants' government declared forthrightly that they did not want to carry on a war waged in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and notwithstanding all the slander by the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary hirelings of the bourgeoisie, proposed to all belligerent countries that they commence peace negotiations. The workers of all countries then saw that Soviet power did not wish to continue the war. The rapacious Treaty of Brest[4] was concluded, the treaty that the German predators imposed on unarmed Russia. Sympathy for Soviet power spread and grew strong among the class-conscious working-class masses of all countries. When the bourgeois governments of the countries of the Entente[5] forced the German plunderers to conclude a still more harsh and rapacious treaty,[6] the workers of all countries realised that they had been fooled all the time. Voices were raised and grew in strength and number against those who had all the time been fooling the people. Workers began to demand Soviet power, the power of the working people, the power of the workers and peasants.

That is why the bourgeois governments of Kerensky and Kolchak, that were supported by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, collapsed so rapidly. (You all know that the Menshevik Maisky was a member of the Siberian Government.[7]) And the Mensheviks, and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and the Czechoslovaks,[8] supported by the foreign bourgeoisie, all joined forces, at first against the Bolsheviks, and then to organise a national democratic government. But what do we see? Kolchak-type officers disbanded the Constituent Assembly in Siberia and established the

power of the officers, capitalists and landowners. Thus the working people of Siberia learned from their own experience that they were being deceived, and that is why the Red Army was able to capture the whole of Siberia so easily and in such a short time—the Siberian workers and peasants came to the aid of the Red Army.

Comrades, now we have to give some thought to why it is said that the Bolsheviks use force, that the Bolsheviks are dictators. Why is it that all those who followed the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Czechoslovaks and Kolchak soon turned their backs on them? Why did the landowners, capitalists and officers from the Siberian Government expel the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and put Kolchak in their place immediately they got power into their own hands? Why did that government, supported from all sides, collapse so quickly? Because all their words and all their deeds were false and fraudulent. Because they did not keep their word, did not give the people a constituent assembly, or popular government, or any other kind of democratic government; they established a dictatorship of the landowners and officers.

Comrades, the bourgeoisie, by force of its class interests, had to lie to the working people and deceive them. The workers and peasants understand all this. They realise that there will be no lies and no deception only when power is in the hands of the working people; nor will there be any of the horrors the proletariat and poor peasantry had to put up with and still have to put up with after four years of war during which the bourgeoisie were in power. The proletariat has realised that there is only one way out—to overthrow the power of the capitalists; that there can be no reconciliation between labour and capital such as the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries are always talking about. The Siberian workers and peasants have paid a truly high price—tens of thousands of people shot and flogged to death—for their gullibility. We have had the sad experience of the blood of Siberian workers and peasants being spilled, but we know that it will be a lesson to them. Experience of this kind is the best way of teaching Bolshevism to the workers and peasants. After it the working people realise that there is no middle way, that they must choose—either the power of

the workers and peasants, Soviet power, or the power of the landowners and capitalists. The bourgeoisie are trying to stultify the consciousness of the working people by force and by deception, but all their efforts will collapse like a house of cards as the political consciousness of the workers and the poor peasants grows.

The venture of Denikin, who, in the Ukraine is repeating the Kolchak lesson, will compel the Ukrainian workers and peasants to understand the mistake they are making in not fighting vigorously enough against him. We know that after Denikin has ruled for a while in the Ukraine, the Ukrainian workers and peasants will be all the stronger for it and will defend the power of the workers and peasants, not in words but in deeds, as our Siberian brothers are now doing. The workers' and peasants' government tells the peasants and all working people, "Come with us, build your own proletarian state. Take a look at the lesson taught by Kolchak and Denikin and you will see the sort of life you get when there is no Soviet power." That lesson is the best agitation on our behalf.

The powerful workers' and peasants' government suppresses whiteguard conspiracies conjured up against it. It sweeps the traitors out of its ranks with an iron broom. The workers' and peasants' government organised the Red Army, put specialists into it and surrounded them with a number of communist commissars. Dozens of specialists who proved to be traitors have been kicked out of the Red Army, and thousands, tens of thousands of them are honestly carrying out their duties and remain in the ranks of the workers' and peasants' Red Army. That is the main, basic lesson to be learned from the political emancipation and liberation of the working people.

Everything that I am telling you today, comrades, is becoming clear to the working people of other countries. Everywhere the movement of the workers who demand the establishment of Soviet power is growing and expanding. You know that Mensheviks now head the government in Germany and that they are maintained in power by the armed force of the Entente; nevertheless, despite this, the German workers are demanding Soviet power. And the German Government was recently forced to add a clause to its constitution intro-

ducing Soviets or Councils of workers' deputies throughout Germany. Those councils, however, do not possess the right to discuss questions of the country's political life. According to the constitution of the socialist-traitors the German Soviets have the right to discuss only the economic situation in the country. We get very little information on other West-European countries, because we are surrounded by enemies on all sides, but the information that does reach us speaks of the spread and strengthening of the movement in favour of the Bolsheviks. Let me tell you of a little incident that occurred in France and which proves more eloquently than any words the correctness of my arguments; it will tell you a great deal. Two Bolshevik newspapers are published in France. One of them wanted to have the title of *Bolshevik* but the censor (in democratic France there is a censor!) forbade it and the newspaper called itself *Le Titre censuré*.[9] Workers who buy the newspaper and see the title add the word *Bolshevik* themselves. (*Stormy applause*.)

In conclusion, comrades, let me tell you of a report I received today from Comrade Zinoviev, Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies. Comrade Zinoviev informs me that a hundred Estonian prisoners have been landed in Petrograd and they told him the following. A non-party conference of trade union workers was held in whiteguard Estonia. It was attended by 417 delegates of whom only 33 were Mensheviks, all the others being Bolsheviks! (*Stormy applause*.) The conference demanded the conclusion of peace with Russia. When the British learned of this their representative appeared at the conference and proposed the overthrow of the whiteguard Government of Estonia, but the workers answered by chasing him away and demanding the conclusion of peace with Russia and the return to peaceful life. The conference was then dispersed and a hundred people were sent to Russia "to seek Bolshevism"; they have arrested 26 people and intend to shoot them. We responded to this act of whiteguard Estonia by a manifesto to the workers and the population of the country, and we informed their government that we shall shoot all hostages in our hands.[10] (*Applause*.) And there, too, the government was supported by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries!

Little Estonia, at her non-party trade union conference, gave powerful Britain a proper answer—Britain that had menaced us with an alliance of fourteen powers.[11]

As I come to the end of my speech, allow me to express my confidence that Soviet Russia, for two years victorious inside the country, will soon conquer the power of the bourgeoisie *throughout the world.* (*Stormy applause.*)

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HOW THE BOURGEOISIE UTILISES RENEGADES

Our wireless stations intercept messages from Carnarvon (Britain), Paris and other European centres. Today Paris is the centre of the world imperialist alliance and its wireless messages are therefore often of particular interest. A few days ago, on September 13, the government wireless station in this centre of world imperialism reported the publication of a new anti-Bolshevik book by Karl Kautsky, the well-known renegade and leader of the Second International.

The millionaires and multimillionaires would not use their government wireless station for nothing. They considered it necessary to publicise Kautsky's new crusade. In their attempt to stem the advancing tide of Bolshevism they have to grasp at everything—even at a straw, even at Kautsky's book. Our heartfelt thanks to the French millionaires for helping Bolshevik propaganda so splendidly, for helping us by making a laughing-stock of Kautsky's philistine anti-Bolshevism.

Today, September 18, I received the September 7 issue of *Vorwärts*, the newspaper of the German social-chauvinists, the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. It has an article by Friedrich Stampfer on Kautsky's new book (*Terrorism and Communism*) and cites a number of passages from it.[12] When we compare Stampfer's article and the Paris wireless message we see that the latter is in all probability based on the former. Kautsky's book is extolled by the Scheidemanns[13] and Noskes, the bodyguards of the German bour eoisie and murderers of the German Communists, by those who have joined the imperialists of the Entente in fighting international communism. A highly edifying spectacle! And when I called Kautsky a lackey of the bourgeoisie (in my book

The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky), our Mensheviks, those typical representatives of the Berne (yellow) International,[14] could not find words strong enough to express their indignation.

But it is a fact, gentlemen, despite all your indignation. The Scheidemanns of *Vorwärts* and the Entente millionaires are certainly not in collusion with me when they praise Kautsky and hold him up as a weapon in the struggle against world Bolshevism. In relation to the bourgeoisie Kautsky—ven if he did not realise and did not wish it—has proved to be exactly what I described him to be.

Some of the more "thunderous" of his accusations against the Bolsheviks will show how far he has gone in his apostasy from socialism and the revolution, apostasy that hides behind the name of Marxism.

"Kautsky describes in detail," Stampfer writes, "how the Bolsheviks always, in the end, arrive at the very opposite of their avowed aims: they were opposed to the death sentence, but are now resorting to mass shootings...."

First, it is a downright lie to say that the Bolsheviks were opposed to the death sentence in time of revolution. At the Party's Second Congress in 1903, when Bolshevism first emerged, it was suggested that abolition of the death sentence be made one of the demands in the Party programme then being drawn up, but the minutes record that this only gave rise to the sarcastic question: "For Nicholas II too?" Even the Mensheviks, in 1903, did not venture to call for a vote on the proposal to abolish the death sentence for the tsar. And in 1917, at the time of the Kerensky government, I wrote in *Pravda* that no revolutionary government could dispense with the death sentence; the question was against which class a particular government would use it. Kautsky has so far forgotten how to think in terms of revolution and is so steeped in philistine opportunism that he cannot visualise a proletarian revolutionary party openly acknowledging, long before its victory, the need for capital punishment in relation to counter-revolutionaries. "Honest" Kautsky, being an honest man and an honest opportunist, quite unashamedly writes untruths about his opponents.

Secondly, anyone with the least understanding of revolution will realise that here we are not discussing revolution

in general, but a revolution that is developing out of the great imperialist slaughter of the peoples. Can one conceive of a proletarian revolution that develops from such a war being free of counter-revolutionary conspiracies and attacks by hundreds of thousands of officers belonging to the landowner and capitalist classes? Can one conceive of a working-class revolutionary party that would not make death the penalty for such attacks in the midst of an extremely cruel civil war, with the bourgeoisie conspiring to bring in foreign troops in an attempt to overthrow workers' government? Everyone, save hopeless and ludicrous pedants, must give a negative answer to these questions. But Kautsky is no longer able to see issues in their concrete historical setting in the way he formerly did.

Thirdly. If Kautsky is no longer capable of analysis and writes lies about the Bolsheviks, if he cannot think, or even present the problem of distinctive features of a revolution arising out of four years of war—he could at least take a closer look at what is going on around him. What is proved by the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg by army officers in the democratic republic of Germany? What is proved by the escape from prison of these officers, who were given preposterously lenient sentences? Herr Kautsky and his whole "independent" party (independent of the proletariat but very much dependent on petty-bourgeois prejudices) evade these issues and resort to snivelling condemnation and philistine lamentations. That is precisely why more and more revolutionary workers the world over are turning away from the Kautskys, Longuets, MacDonalds and Turatis and joining the Communists, for the revolutionary proletariat needs *victory* over counter-revolution, not impotent "condemnation" of it.

Fourthly. The question of "terrorism" is, apparently, basic to Kautsky's book. That is evident from the title, also from Stampfer's remark that "Kautsky is doubtlessly right in asserting that the fundamental principle of the Commune was not terrorism, but universal suffrage". In my *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* I cited ample evidence to show that all this talk of a "fundamental principle" is a sheer travesty of Marxism. My purpose here is a different one. To show what Kautsky's disquisitions on the subject

of "terrorism" are worth, whom, *which class*, they *serve*, I shall cite in full a short article by a *liberal* writer. It is a letter to *The New Republic* (June 25, 1919), a liberal American journal which, generally speaking, expresses the petty-bourgeois viewpoint. However, it is preferable to Kautsky's in not presenting that viewpoint either as revolutionary socialism or Marxism.

This is the full text of the letter:

MANNERHEIM AND KOLCHAK

Sir: The Allied governments have refused to recognise the Soviet Government of Russia because, as they state:

1. The Soviet Government is—or was—pro-German.
2. The Soviet Government is based on terrorism.
3. The Soviet Government is undemocratic and unrepresentative of the Russian people.

Meanwhile the Allied governments have long since recognised the present whiteguard Government of Finland under the dictatorship of General Mannerheim, although it appears:

1. That German troops aided the whiteguards in crushing the Socialist Republic of Finland, and that General Mannerheim sent repeated telegrams of sympathy and esteem to the Kaiser. Meanwhile the Soviet Government was busily undermining the German Government with propaganda among troops on the Russian front. The Finnish Government was infinitely more pro-German than the Russian.

2. That the present Government of Finland on coming into power executed in cold blood within a few days' time 16,700 members of the old Socialist Republic, and imprisoned in starvation camps 70,000 more. Meanwhile the total executions in Russia for the year ended November 1, 1918, were officially stated to have been 3,800, including many corrupt Soviet of officials as well as counter-revolutionists. The Finnish Government was infinitely more terroristic than the Russian.

3. That after killing and imprisoning nearly 90,000 socialists, and driving some 50,000 more over the border into Russia—and Finland is a small country with an electorate of only about 400,000—the whiteguard government deemed it sufficiently safe to hold elections. In spite of all precautions, a majority of socialists were elected, but General Mannerheim, like the Allies after the Vladivostok elections, allowed not one of them to be seated. Meanwhile the Soviet Government had disenfranchised all those who do no useful work for a living. The Finnish Government was considerably less democratic than the Russian.

And much the same story might be rehearsed in respect to that great champion of democracy and the new order, Admiral Kolchak of Omsk, whom the Allied governments have supported, supplied and equipped, and are now on the point of officially recognising.

Thus every argument that the Allies have urged against the recognition of the Soviets, can be applied with more strength and honesty

against Mannerheim and Kolchak. Yet the latter are recognised, and the blockade draws ever tighter about starving Russia.

Stuart Chase

Washington, D.C.

This letter written by a bourgeois liberal, effectively exposes all the vileness of the Kautskys, Martovs, Chernovs, Brantings and other heroes of the Berne yellow International and their betrayal of socialism.

For, first, Kautsky and all these heroes lie about Soviet Russia on the question of terrorism and democracy. Secondly, they do not assess developments from the standpoint of the class struggle as it is actually developing on a world scale and in the sharpest possible form, but from the standpoint of a petty-bourgeois, philistine longing for what might have been if there had been no close link between bourgeois democracy and capitalism, if there were no whiteguards in the world, if they had not been supported by the world bourgeoisie, and so on and so forth. Thirdly, a comparison of this American letter with the writings of Kautsky and Co. will clearly show that Kautsky's *objective* role is servility to the bourgeoisie.

The world bourgeoisie supports the Mannerheims and Kolchaks in an attempt to stifle Soviet power, alleging that it is terrorist and undemocratic. Such are the facts. And Kautsky, Martov, Chernov and Co. are only singing songs about terrorism and democracy in chorus with the bourgeoisie, for the world bourgeoisie is singing this song to deceive the workers and strangle the workers' revolution. The personal honesty of "socialists" who sing the same song "sincerely", i.e., because they are extremely dull-witted, does not in any way alter the objective role played by the song. The "honest opportunists", the Kautskys, Martovs, Longuets and Co., have become "honest" (in their unprecedented spinelessness) *counter-revolutionaries*.

Such are the facts.

An American liberal realises—not because he is theoretically equipped to do so, but simply because he is an attentive observer of developments in a sufficiently broad light, on a world scale—that the *world bourgeoisie has organised and is waging a civil war against the revolutionary proletariat*

and, accordingly, is supporting Kolchak and Denikin in Russia, Mannerheim in Finland, the Georgian Mensheviks, those lackeys of the bourgeoisie, in the Caucasus, the Polish imperialists and Polish Kerenskys in Poland, the Scheidemanns in Germany, the counter-revolutionaries (Mensheviks and capitalists) in Hungary, etc., etc.

But Kautsky, like the inveterate reactionary philistine he is, continues snivelling about the fears and horrors of civil war! All semblance of revolutionary understanding, and all semblance of historical realism (for it is high time the inevitability of imperialist war being turned into civil war were realised) have disappeared. This is, furthermore, directly abetting the bourgeoisie, it is *helping* them, and Kautsky is *actually on the side of the bourgeoisie* in the civil war that is being waged, or is obviously being prepared, throughout the world.

His shouting, groaning, weeping and hysteria about the civil war serve to cover up his dismal failure as a theoretician. For the Bolsheviks have proved to be right; in the autumn of 1914 they declared to the world that the *imperialist war would be transformed into civil war*. Reactionaries of every shade were indignant or laughed; but the Bolsheviks were *right*. To conceal their complete failure, their stupidity and short-sightedness, the reactionaries must try to scare the petty bourgeoisie by showing them the horrors of civil war. That is just what Kautsky as a politician is doing.

To what absurd lengths he has gone can be seen from the following. There is no hope of a world revolution, Kautsky asserts—and what do you think he used as an argument? A revolution in Europe an the Russian pattern would mean "*unleashing* (*Entfessellung*) *civil war throughout the world for a whole generation*", and moreover not simply unleashing a veritable class war, but a "*fratricidal war among the proletarians*". The italicised words belong to Kautsky and are—admiringly of course—quoted by Stampfer.

Yes, Scheidemann's scoundrels and hangmen have good reason to admire them! Here is a "socialist leader" scaring people with the spectre of revolution and scaring them away from revolution! But, curiously enough, there is one thing Kautsky overlooks; for nearly two years the all-powerful Entente has been fighting against Russia and thereby

stirring up revolution in the Entente countries. If the revolution were even to begin now, even if only in its compromising stage and in only one or two of the Entente Great Powers this would *immediately* put an end to the civil war in Russia, would *immediately* liberate *hundreds of millions* in the colonies, where resentment is at boiling-point and is kept in check only by the violence of the European powers.

Kautsky now obviously has another motive for his actions in addition to the foulness of his servile soul that he demonstrated throughout the imperialist war—he *is afraid* of protracted civil war in Russia. And fear prevents him from seeing that the *bourgeoisie of the whole world* is fighting Russia. A revolution in one or two of the European Great Powers would completely *undermine* the rule of the world bourgeoisie, destroy the very *foundations* of its domination and leave it no safe haven *anywhere*.

The two-year war of the world bourgeoisie against Russia's revolutionary proletariat actually *encourages* revolutionaries everywhere, for it *proves* that victory on a *world scale* is very near and easy.

As far as civil war "among the proletarians" is concerned, we have heard that argument from the Chernovs and Martovs. To assess its utter dishonesty, let us take a simple example. During the great French Revolution, part of the peasants, the Vendée peasants, fought for the King against the Republic. In June 1848 and May 1871 part of the workers served in the armies of Cavaignac and Galliffet, the armies that stifled the revolution. What would you say of a man who took this line of argument: I regret the "civil war *among the peasants* in France in 1792 and among the workers in 1848 and 1871"? You would have to say that he was a hypocrite and defender of reaction, the monarchy and the Cavaignacs.

And you would be right.

Today only a hopeless idiot could fail to understand that what has taken place in Russia (and is beginning or maturing in the rest of the world) is a civil war of the proletariat *against the bourgeoisie*. There never has been, and never can be, a class struggle in which *part* of the advanced class does not remain on the side of the reactionary forces. That applies to civil war too. Part of the backward workers are bound to help the bourgeoisie—for a longer or shorter period. But

only scoundrels can use *that* to justify *their* desertion to the bourgeoisie.

Theoretically, this is a refusal to understand what the facts of the development of the world labour movement have been screaming and shouting about since 1914. The breakaway of the *top strata* of the working class, corrupted by a middle-class way of life and opportunism and *bribed* by "soft jobs" and other bourgeois sops, began to take shape on a world scale in the autumn of 1914 and reached its full development between 1915 and 1918. By disregarding this historical fact and blaming the Communists for the split in the movement, Kautsky is only demonstrating, for the thousandth time, his role of lackey of the bourgeoisie.

For forty years, from 1852 to 1892, Marx and Engels spoke of part (i.e., the top strata, the leaders, the "aristocracy") of the workers in Britain *becoming increasingly bourgeois*, *owing to* that country's colonial advantages and her monopolies.[15] It is clear as daylight that the twentieth-century imperialist monopolies in a number of other countries were bound to create the same phenomenon as in Britain. In all the advanced countries we see corruption, bribery, desertion to the bourgeoisie by the *leaders of the working class* and its *top strata* in consequence of the doles handed out by the bourgeoisie, who provide these leaders with "soft jobs", give crumbs from their profits to these upper strata, shift the burden of the worst paid and hardest work to backward workers brought into the country, and enhance the privileges of the "labour aristocracy" as compared with the majority of the working class.

The war of 1914-18 has given conclusive proof of treachery to socialism and desertion to the bourgeoisie by the *leaders and top strata* of the proletariat, by all the social-chauvinists, Gomperses, Brantings, Renaudels, MacDonalds, Scheidemanns, etc. And it goes without saying that for a time part of the workers by sheer inertia follow these bourgeois scoundrels.

The Berne International of the Huysmanses, Vanderveldes and Scheidemanns has now taken full shape as the yellow International of these traitors to socialism. If they are not fought, if a split with them is not effected, there can be no question of any *real* socialism, of any *sincere* work for the benefit of the social revolution.

Let the German Independents try to sit between two stools—such is their fate. The Scheidemanns embrace Kautsky as their "own man". Stampfer advertises this. Indeed, Kautsky is a worthy comrade of the Scheidemanns. When Hilferding, another Independent and friend of Kautsky's, proposed at Lucerne that the Scheidemanns be expelled from the International, the real leaders of the yellow International only laughed at him. His proposal was either a piece of extreme foolishness or a piece of extreme hypocrisy; he wanted to parade as a Left among the worker masses and, at the same time, retain his place in the International of bourgeois servitors! Regardless of what motivated this leader (Hilferding), the following is beyond doubt—the spinelessness of the Independents and the perfidy of the Scheidemanns, Brantings and Vanderveldes are bound to result in a stronger movement of the proletarian masses *away from these traitorous leaders*. In some countries imperialism can continue to divide the workers for a fairly long time to come. The example of Britain is proof of that, but the *unification* of the revolutionaries, and the uniting of the masses with the revolutionaries and the expulsion of the yellow elements are, on a world scale, proceeding steadily and surely. The tremendous success of the Communist International is proof of it: in America, a Communist Party has already been formed,[16] in Paris, the Committee for the Re-establishment of International Contacts and the Syndicalist Defence Committee[17] have come out for the Third International, and two Paris papers have sided with the Third International: Raymond Péricat's *L'Internationale*[18] and Georges Anquetil's *Le Titre censuré* (*Bolshevik*?). In Britain, we are on the eve of the organisation of a Communist Party with which the best elements in the British Socialist Party,[19] the Shop Stewards Committees,[20] the revolutionary trade-unionists, etc., are in solidarity. The Swedish Lefts, the Norwegian Social-Democrats, the Dutch Communists, the Swiss[21] and Italian[22] Socialist parties stand solid with the German Spartacists[23] and the Russian Bolsheviks.

In the few months since its organisation early this year, the Communist International has become a world organisation leading the masses and unconditionally hostile to the betrayers of socialism in the yellow International of the Berne and Lucerne fraternity.

In conclusion, here is a highly instructive communication that casts light on the part played by the opportunist leaders. The conference of yellow socialists in Lucerne this August was reported by the Geneva paper *La Feuille*[24] in a special supplement appearing in several languages. The English edition (No. 4, Wednesday, August 6) carried an interview with Troelstra, the well-known leader of the opportunist party in Holland.

Troelstra said that the German revolution of November 9 had caused a good deal of agitation among Dutch political and trade union leaders. For a few days the ruling groups in Holland were in a state of panic especially as there was practically universal unrest in the army.

The Mayors of Rotterdam and The Hague, he continues, sought to build up their own organisations as an auxiliary force of the counter-revolution. A committee composed of former generals—among them an old officer who prided himself on having shared in the suppression of the Boxer rebellion in China—tried to mislead several of our comrades into taking up arms against the revolution. Naturally, their efforts had the very opposite result and in Rotterdam, at one time, it seemed that a workers' council would be set up. But the political and trade union leaders believed such methods premature and confined themselves to formulating a workers' minimum programme and publishing a strongly worded appeal to the masses.

That is what Troelstra said. He also bragged a good deal, describing how he had delivered revolutionary speeches calling even for the seizure of power, how he realised the inadequacy of parliament and political democracy as such, how he recognised "illegal methods" of struggle and "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the transition period, and so on and so forth.

Troelstra is a typical specimen of the venal, opportunist leader who serves the bourgeoisie and deceives the workers. In words he will accept *everything*—workers' councils, proletarian dictatorship and whatever else you wish. But actually he is a vile betrayer of the workers, an agent of the bourgeoisie. He is the *leader* of those "political and trade union leaders" that *saved the Dutch bourgeoisie* by joining forces with them at the decisive moment.

For the facts revealed by Troelstra are perfectly clear and point in a very definite direction. The Dutch army had been mobilised, the proletariat was armed and united, in the army, with the poor sections of the people. The German revolution

inspired the workers to rise, and there was "practically universal unrest in the army". Obviously, the duty of revolutionary leaders was to lead the masses towards revolution, not to miss the opportune moment, when the arming of the workers and the influence of the German revolution could have decided the issue at one stroke.

But the treasonable leaders, with Troelstra at their head, joined forces with the bourgeoisie. The workers were stalled off with reforms and still more with promises of reforms. "Strongly worded appeals" and revolutionary phrases were used to placate—and deceive—the workers. It was the Troelstras and similar "leaders", who make up the Second International of Berne and Lucerne, that saved the capitalists by helping the bourgeoisie demobilise the army.

The labour movement will march forward, ousting these traitors and betrayers, the Troelstras and the Kautskys, ridding itself of the upper stratum that has turned bourgeois, is misleading the masses and pursuing capitalist policies.

N. Lenin

September 20, 1919

P.S. Judging by Stampfer's article, Kautsky is now silent on the Soviet political system. Has he surrendered on this cardinal issue? Is he no longer prepared to defend the banalities set forth in his pamphlet against *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*? Does he prefer to pass from this *chief* issue to secondary ones? The answer to all these questions must await examination of Kautsky's pamphlet.

Published in September 1919

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TO THE AMERICAN WORKERS

Comrades,

About a year ago, in my letter to the American workers (dated August 20th, 1918) I exposed to you the situation in Soviet Russia and the problems facing the latter. That was before the German revolution. The events which since took place in the world's history proved how right the Bolsheviks were in their estimation of the imperialist war of 1914-18 in general and of the Entente imperialism in particular. As for the Soviet power it has become familiar and dear to the minds and hearts of the working masses of the whole world. Everywhere the working people, in spite of the influence of the old leaders with their chauvinism and opportunism penetrating them through and through, become aware of the rottenness of the bourgeois parliaments and of the necessity of the Soviet power, the power of the working people, the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the sake of the emancipation of humanity from the yoke of capital. And Soviet power will win in the whole world, however furiously, however frantically the bourgeoisie of all countries rages and storms. The bourgeoisie inundates Russia with blood, waging war upon us and inciting against us the counter-revolutionaries, those who wish the yoke of capital to be restored. The bourgeoisie inflicts upon the working masses of Russia unprecedented sufferings through the blockade and through the help it gives to counter-revolution, but we have already defeated Kolchak and we are carrying on the war against Denikin with the firm assurance of our coming victory.

N. Lenin

September 23, 1919

* * *

I am often asked whether those American opponents of the war against Russia—not only workers, but mainly bourgeois—are right, who expect from us, after peace is concluded, not only resumption of trade relations, but also the possibility of receiving concessions in Russia. I repeat once more that they are right. A durable peace would be such a relief to the working people of Russia that they would undoubtedly agree to certain concessions being granted. The granting of concessions under reasonable terms is desirable also for us, as one of the means of attracting into Russia, during the period of the coexistence side by side of socialist and capitalist states, the technical help of the countries which are more advanced in this respect.

N. Lenin

September 23, 1919

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THE TASKS OF THE WORKING WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FOURTH MOSCOW CITY CONFERENCE OF NON-PARTY WORKING WOMEN SEPTEMBER 23, 1919

Comrades, it gives me pleasure to greet a conference of working women. I will allow myself to pass over those subjects and questions that, of course, at the moment are the cause of the greatest concern to every working woman and to every politically-conscious individual from among the working people; these are the most urgent questions—that of bread and that of the war situation. I know from the newspaper reports of your meetings that these questions have been dealt with exhaustively by Comrade Trotsky as far as war questions are concerned and by Comrades Yakovleva and Svidersky as far as the bread question is concerned; please, therefore, allow me to pass over those questions.

I should like to say a few words about the general tasks facing the working women's movement in the Soviet Republic, those that are, in general, connected with the transition to socialism, and those that are of particular urgency at the present time. Comrades, the question of the position of women was raised by Soviet power from the very beginning. It seems to me that any workers' state in the course of transition to socialism is faced with a double task. The first part of that task is relatively simple and easy. It concerns those old laws that kept women in a position of inequality as compared to men.

Participants in all emancipation movements in Western Europe have long since, not for decades but for centuries,

put forward the demand that obsolete laws be annulled and women and men be made equal by law, but none of the democratic European states, none of the most advanced republics have succeeded in putting it into effect, because wherever there is capitalism, wherever there is private property in land and factories, wherever the power of capital is preserved, the men retain their privileges. It was possible to put it into effect in Russia only because the power of the workers has been established here since October 25, 1917. From its very inception Soviet power set out to be the power of the working people, hostile to all forms of exploitation. It set itself the task of doing away with the possibility of the exploitation of the working people by the landowners and capitalists, of doing away with the rule of capital. Soviet power has been trying to make it possible for the working people to organise their lives without private property in land, without privately-owned factories, without that private property that everywhere, throughout the world, even where there is complete political liberty, even in the most democratic republics, keeps the working people in a state of what is actually poverty and wage-slavery, and women in a state of double slavery.

Soviet power, the power of the working people, in the first months of its existence effected a very definite revolution in legislation that concerns women. Nothing whatever is left in the Soviet Republic of those laws that put women in a subordinate position. I am speaking specifically of those laws that took advantage of the weaker position of women and put them in a position of inequality and often, even, in a humiliating position, i.e., the laws on divorce and on children born out of wedlock and on the right of a woman to summon the father of a child for maintenance.

It is particularly in this sphere that bourgeois legislation, even, it must be said, in the most advanced countries, takes advantage of the weaker position of women to humiliate them and give them a status of inequality. It is particularly in this sphere that Soviet power has left nothing whatever of the old, unjust laws that were intolerable for working people. We may now say proudly and without any exaggeration that apart from Soviet Russia there is not a country in the world where women enjoy full equality and where women

are not placed in the humiliating position felt particularly in day-to-day family life. This was one of our first and most important tasks.

If you have occasion to come into contact with parties that are hostile to the Bolsheviks, if there should come into your hands newspapers published in Russian in the regions occupied by Kolchak or Denikin, or if you happen to talk to people who share the views of those newspapers, you may often hear from them the accusation that Soviet power has violated democracy.

We, the representatives of Soviet power, Bolshevik Communists and supporters of Soviet power are often accused of violating democracy and proof of this is given by citing the fact that Soviet power dispersed the Constituent Assembly. We usually answer this accusation as follows: that democracy and that Constituent Assembly which came into being when private property still existed on earth, when there was no equality between people, when the one who possessed his own capital was the boss and the others worked for him and were his wage-slaves—that was a democracy on which we place no value. Such democracy concealed slavery even in the most advanced countries. We socialists are supporters of democracy only insofar as it eases the position of the working and oppressed people. Throughout the world socialism has set itself the task of combating every kind of exploitation of man by man. That democracy has real value for us which serves the exploited, the underprivileged. If those who do not work are disfranchised that would be real equality between people. Those who do not work should not eat.

In reply to these accusations we say that the question must be presented in this way—how is democracy implemented in various countries? We see that equality is proclaimed in all democratic republics but in the civil laws and in laws on the rights of women—those that concern their position in the family and divorce—we see inequality and the humiliation of women at every step, and we say that this is a violation of democracy specifically in respect of the oppressed. Soviet power has implemented democracy to a greater degree than any of the other, most advanced countries because it has not left in its laws any trace of the inequality of women.

Again I say that no other state and no other legislation has ever done for women a half of what Soviet power did in the first months of its existence.

Laws alone, of course, are not enough, and we are by no means content with mere decrees. In the sphere of legislation, however, we have done everything required of us to put women in a position of equality and we have every right to be proud of it. The position of women in Soviet Russia is now ideal as compared with their position in the most advanced states. We tell ourselves, however, that this is, of course, only the beginning.

Owing to her work in the house, the woman is still in a difficult position. To effect her complete emancipation and make her the equal of the man it is necessary for the national economy to be socialised and for women to participate in common productive labour. Then women will occupy the same position as men.

Here we are not, of course, speaking of making women the equal of men as far as productivity of labour, the quantity of labour, the length of the working day, labour conditions, etc., are concerned; we mean that the woman should not, unlike the man, be oppressed because of her position in the family. You all know that even when women have full rights, they still remain factually downtrodden because all housework is left to them. In most cases housework is the most unproductive, the most barbarous and the most arduous work a woman can do. It is exceptionally petty and does not include anything that would in any way promote the development of the woman.

In pursuance of the socialist ideal we want to struggle for the full implementation of socialism, and here an extensive field of labour opens up before women. We are now making serious preparations to clear the ground for the building of socialism, but the building of socialism will begin only when we have achieved the complete equality of women and when we undertake the new work together with women who have been emancipated from that petty, stultifying, unproductive work. This is a job that will take us many, many years.

This work cannot show any rapid results and will not produce a scintillating effect.

We are setting up model institutions, dining-rooms and nurseries, that will emancipate women from housework. And the work of organising all these institutions will fall mainly to women. It has to be admitted that in Russia today there are very few institutions that would help woman out of her state of household slavery. There is an insignificant number of them, and the conditions now obtaining in the Soviet Republic—the war and food situation about which comrades have already given you the details—hinder us in this work. Still, it must be said that these institutions that liberate women from their position as household slaves are springing up wherever it is in any way possible.

We say that the emancipation of the workers must be effected by the workers themselves, and in exactly the same way the emancipation of working women is a matter for the working women themselves. The working women must themselves see to it that such institutions are developed, and this activity will bring about a complete change in their position as compared with what it was under the old, capitalist society.

In order to be active in politics under the old, capitalist regime special training was required, so that women played an insignificant part in politics, even in the most advanced and free capitalist countries. Our task is to make politics available to every working woman. Ever since private property in land and factories has been abolished and the power of the landowners and capitalists overthrown, the tasks of politics have become simple, clear and comprehensible to the working people as a whole, including working women. In capitalist society the woman's position is marked by such inequality that the extent of her participation in politics is only an insignificant fraction of that of the man. The power of the working people is necessary for a change to be wrought in this situation, for then the main tasks of politics will consist of matters directly affecting the fate of the working people themselves.

Here, too, the participation of working women is essential—not only of party members and politically-conscious women, but also of the non-party women and those who are least politically conscious. Here Soviet power opens up a wide field of activity to working women.

PROLETARIAN PUBLISHING NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

We have had a difficult time in the struggle against the forces hostile to Soviet Russia that have attacked her. It was difficult for us to fight on the battlefield against the forces who went to war against the power of the working people and in the field of food supplies against the profiteers, because of the too small number of people, working people, who came whole-heartedly to our aid with their own labour. Here, too, there is nothing Soviet power can appreciate as much as the help given by masses of non-party working women. They may know that in the old, bourgeois society, perhaps, a comprehensive training was necessary for participation in politics and that this was not available to women. The political activity of the Soviet Republic is mainly the struggle against the landowners and capitalists, the struggle for the elimination of exploitation; political activity, therefore, is made available to the working woman in the Soviet Republic and it will consist in the working woman using her organisational ability to help the working man.

What we need is not only organisational work on a scale involving millions; we need organisational work on the smallest scale and this makes it possible for women to work as well. Women can work under war conditions when it is a question of helping the army or carrying on agitation in the army. Women should take an active part in all this so that the Red Army sees that it is being looked after, that solicitude is being displayed. Women can also work in the sphere of food distribution, on the improvement of public catering and everywhere opening dining-rooms like those that are so numerous in Petrograd.

It is in these fields that the activities of working women acquire the greatest organisational significance. The participation of working women is also essential in the organisation and running of big experimental farms and should not take place only in isolated cases. This is something that cannot be carried out without the participation of a large number of working women. Working women will be very useful in this field in supervising the distribution of food and in making food products more easily obtainable. This work can well be done by non-party working women and its accomplishment will do more than anything else to strengthen socialist society.

We have abolished private property in land and almost completely abolished the private ownership of factories; Soviet power is now trying to ensure that all working people, non-party as well as Party members, women as well as men, should take part in this economic development. The work that Soviet power has begun can only make progress when, instead of a few hundreds, millions and millions of women throughout Russia take part in it. We are sure that the cause of socialist development will then become sound. Then the working people will show that they can live and run their country without the aid of the landowners and capitalists. Then socialist construction will be so soundly based in Russia that no external enemies in other countries and none inside Russia will be any danger to the Soviet Republic.

Pravda No. 213,
September 25, 1919

Published according to the text of the pamphlet, V. I. Lenin, *Speech at the Working Women's Congress*, Moscow, 1919, verified with the *Pravda* text

THE EXAMPLE OF THE PETROGRAD WORKERS[25]

The newspapers have already reported that the Petrograd workers have begun the intensive mobilisation and dispatch of the best workers to the Southern Front.

Denikin's capture of Kursk and advance on Orel fully explain this energetic action of the Petrograd proletariat, whose example must be followed by the workers of other industrial centres.

The Denikin gang count on sowing panic in our ranks and making us think only of defence, only of the matter in hand. The foreign radio shows how zealously the French and British imperialists are helping Denikin, how they are helping him with armaments and hundreds of millions of rubles. The foreign radio proclaims to the whole world that the road to Moscow lies open. That is how the capitalists would like to frighten us.

But they will not succeed in frightening us. The deployment of our troops has been carefully planned and strictly carried out. Our offensive against the chief source of the enemy's strength steadily continues. The victories recently won—the capture of 20 guns in the Boguchar area, the capture of the village of Veshenskaya—indicate the successful advance of our troops to the centre of the Cossack area, which alone enabled and still enables Denikin to organise a serious force. Denikin will be smashed as Kolchak has been smashed. They cannot frighten us and we shall bring our cause to a victorious conclusion.

The capture of Kursk and the enemy's advance on Orel required the provision of additional forces in order to repel him there. By their example the Petrograd workers have shown that they have correctly understood this task. Without

hiding the dangers from ourselves, and without in any way minimising them, we say: Petrograd has shown that we do have additional forces. In order to repel the attack on Orel and to launch an offensive against Kursk and Kharkov, the best proletarians must be mobilised, over and above the forces we already have at our disposal. The fall of Kursk constitutes a serious danger; never has the enemy been so near to Moscow. In addition to the previous army forces, we are dispatching new contingents of advanced workers capable of changing the mood of the retreating units to ward off this danger.

Among our troops in the South, deserters who have returned to the ranks occupy a prominent place. Most of them have returned voluntarily, under the influence of the propaganda which has explained where their duty lies and shown them how serious is the threat that the power of the landowners and capitalists will be restored. But the deserters do not hold out, they lack staunchness and quite often they begin to retreat without fighting.

That is why it is of prime importance to strengthen the army by a new influx of proletarian forces. The unstable elements will be given strength, morale will be raised, a turning-point will be reached. As has continually happened in our revolution, the proletariat will support and guide the wavering sections of the working population.

For a long time now the Petrograd workers have had to bear much greater burdens than the workers of other industrial centres. The Petrograd proletariat has suffered more than the proletariat in other localities from famine, the perils of war and the withdrawal of the best workers for Soviet duties throughout Russia.

Yet we see that there has not been the slightest dejection, not the slightest diminution of energy among the Petrograd workers. On the contrary, they have become steeled, they have found new strength and have brought new fighters to the fore. They are excellently fulfilling the duty of a leading contingent, sending aid and support where it is most needed.

When such fresh forces go to reinforce units of our army that have wavered, the mass of the working people, the soldiers of peasant origin obtain new leaders from among their own kind, from the more developed, more politically-conscious,

and more staunch-minded working people. That is why such help to our peasant army gives us a decisive superiority over the enemy, for in his case it is only landowners' sons who are sent out to strengthen his peasant army, and we know that this "strengthening" has ruined Kolchak and will ruin Denikin.

Comrade workers! Let all of you set about the new work after the example of the Petrograd comrades! More energy for activities in the army, more initiative and boldness, more emulation so as to equal the Petrograders, and victory will be won by the working people, the landowner and capitalist counter-revolution will be beaten.

N. Lenin

P.S. I have just learned that from Moscow also some dozens of the most devoted comrades have left for the front. Following Petrograd, Moscow has taken action. Following Moscow, all the rest should take action.

N.L.

October 3, 1919

Pravda No. 221,
October 4, 1919

Published according to
the *Pravda* text

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT BY A *CHICAGO DAILY NEWS* CORRESPONDENT[26]

October 5, 1919

I beg to apologise for my bad English. I am glad to answer your few questions.

1. What is the present policy of the Soviet Government on the question of peace?
2. What, in general outline, are the peace terms put forward by Soviet Russia?

Our peace policy is the former, that is, we have accepted the peace proposition of Mr. Bullitt.[27] We have never changed our peace conditions (question 2), which are formulated with Mr. Bullitt.

We have many times officially proposed peace to the Entente before coming of Mr. Bullitt.

3. Is the Soviet Government prepared to guarantee absolute non-intervention in the internal affairs of foreign states?

We are willing to guarantee it.

4. Is the Soviet Government prepared to prove that it represents the majority of the Russian people?

Yes, the Soviet Government is the most democratic government of all governments in the world. We are willing to prove it.

5. What is the position of the Soviet Government in respect of an economic understanding with America?

We are decidedly for an economic understanding with America—with all countries but *especially* with America.

If necessary we can give you the full text of our peace conditions as formulated by our government with Mr. Bullitt.

Wl. Oulianoff (*N. Lenin*)

Published in the *Chicago Daily News* No. 257, October 27, 1919

First published in Russian in 1942

Published according to the newspaper text

GREETINGS TO ITALIAN, FRENCH AND GERMAN COMMUNISTS

Scant indeed is the news we get from abroad. The blockade by the imperialist beasts is in full swing; the violence of the biggest world powers is turned against us in the hope of restoring the rule of the exploiters. And all this bestial fury of the Russian and world capitalists is cloaked, needless to say, in phrases about the lofty significance of "democracy"! The exploiter camp is true to itself; it depicts bourgeois democracy as "democracy" in general. And all the philistines and petty bourgeois, down to Friedrich Adler, Karl Kautsky and the majority of the leaders of the Independent (that is, independent of the revolutionary proletariat but dependent on petty-bourgeois prejudices) Social-Democratic Party of Germany, join in the chorus.

But the more infrequently we in Russia receive news from abroad, the greater the joy with which we follow the gigantic, universal advance of communism among the workers in all the countries of the world, the successful severance of the masses from the corrupt and treacherous leaders who, from Scheidemann to Kautsky, have gone over to the bourgeoisie.

All that we know of the Italian Party is that its Congress has resolved by a huge majority to affiliate to the Third International and to adopt the programme of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, the Italian Socialist Party has, in practice, aligned itself with communism, though to our regret it still retains its old name. Warm greetings to the Italian workers and their party!

All that we know of France is that in Paris alone there are already two communist newspapers: *L'Internationale* edited by Raymond Péricat, and *Le Titre censuré* edited by Georges

Anquetil. A number of proletarian organisations have already affiliated to the Third International. The sympathies of the workers are undoubtedly on the side of communism and Soviet power.

Of the German Communists we know only that communist newspapers are published in a number of towns. Many bear the name *Die Rote Fahne*.[28] The Berlin *Rote Fahne*, an illegal publication, is battling heroically against the Scheidemanns and Noskes, the butchers who play flunkey to the bourgeoisie in deeds, just as the Independents do in words and in their "ideological" (petty-bourgeois ideological) propaganda.

The heroic struggle of *Die Rote Fahne*, the Berlin communist paper, evokes whole-hearted admiration. At last we see in Germany honest and sincere socialists, who, despite all persecution, despite the foul murder of their best leaders, have remained firm and unbending! At last we see in Germany communist workers who are waging a heroic struggle that really deserves to be called "revolutionary"! At last there has emerged from the very midst of the proletarian masses in Germany a force for which the words "proletarian revolution" have become a *truth*!

Greetings to the German Communists!

The Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Renners and Friedrich Adlers, great as the difference between these gentlemen in the sense of personal integrity may probably be, have in equal measure proved to be petty bourgeois, most shameful traitors to and betrayers of socialism, supporters of the bourgeoisie. For in 1912 all of them took part in drafting and signing the Basle Manifesto[29] on the approaching imperialist war, all of them spoke then about "*proletarian* revolution", and all of them proved in practice to be petty-bourgeois democrats, knights of philistine-republican, bourgeois-democratic illusions, accomplices of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

The savage persecution to which the German Communists have been subjected has strengthened them. If at the moment they are somewhat disunited, this testifies to the breadth and mass character of their movement, to the vigour with which communism is growing out of the very midst of the masses of workers. It is inevitable that a movement so ruthlessly persecuted by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie

and their Scheidemann-Noske henchmen and forced to organise illegally should be disunited.

And it is natural, too, that a movement which is growing so rapidly and experiencing such desperate persecution should give rise to rather sharp differences. There is nothing terrible in that; it is a matter of growing pains.

Let the Scheidemanns and Kautskys gloat in their *Vorwärts* and *Freiheit* about the differences among the Communists. There is nothing left for these heroes of rotten philistinism but to cover up their rottenness by pointing to the Communists. But if we take the real state of affairs we realise that only the blind can now fail to see the truth. And the truth is that the followers of Scheidemann and Kautsky have shamelessly *betrayed* the proletarian revolution in Germany, *broken faith with it* and have, *in fact*, sided with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. Heinrich Laufenberg in his excellent pamphlet, *From the First Revolution to the Second*, demonstrated this and proved it with remarkable force, vividness, clarity and conviction. The differences among the followers of Scheidemann and Kautsky are differences within disintegrating, dying parties of which there remain only leaders without masses, generals without armies. The masses are abandoning the Scheidemanns and going over to the Kautskys, being attracted by their Left wing (this is borne out by any report of a mass meeting), and this Left wing combines—in unprincipled and cowardly fashion—the old prejudices of the petty bourgeoisie about parliamentary democracy with communist recognition of the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power.

Under mass pressure, the rotten leaders of the Independents acknowledge all this in words, but in deeds they remain petty-bourgeois democrats, "socialists" of the type of Louis Blanc and the other dolts of 1848 who were so mercilessly ridiculed and branded by Marx.

Here we have differences that are really irreconcilable. There can be no peace, no joint work, between the proletarian revolutionaries and the philistines, who, like those of 1848, worship at the shrine of bourgeois "democracy" without understanding its bourgeois nature. Haase and Kautsky, Friedrich Adler and Otto Bauer can twist and squirm as much as they like, use up reams of paper and make endless

speeches, but they cannot get away from the fact that *in practice* they absolutely fail to understand the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power, that *in practice* they are petty-bourgeois democrats, "socialists" of the Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin type, that *in practice* they are, at best, puppets in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and, at worst, direct hirelings of the bourgeoisie.

The Independents, the Kautskyites and the Austrian Social-Democrats *seem* to be united parties, actually, on the basic, chief and most essential issue, most of their party members do *not* agree with the leaders. The party membership *will wage* a proletarian revolutionary struggle for Soviet power the very moment a new crisis sets in, and the "leaders" will act as counter-revolutionaries as they do now. To sit between two stools is not a difficult matter in words; Hilferding in Germany and Friedrich Adler in Austria are giving a model display of this noble art.

But people who try to reconcile the irreconcilable will prove to be mere soap-bubbles in the heat of the revolutionary struggle. This was demonstrated by all the "socialist" heroes of 1848, by their Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary kindred in Russia in 1917-19, and is being demonstrated by all the knights of the Berne, or yellow, Second International.

The differences among the Communists are of another kind. Only those who do not want to cannot see the fundamental distinction. The differences among the Communists are differences between representatives of a mass movement that has grown with incredible rapidity; and the Communists have a single, common, granite-like foundation—recognition of the proletarian revolution and of the struggle against bourgeois-democratic illusions and bourgeois-democratic parliamentarism, and recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power.

On *such* a basis differences are nothing to worry about, they represent growing pains, not senile decay. Bolshevism, too, has experienced differences of this kind more than once, as well as minor breakaways caused by such differences, but at the decisive moment, at the moment of taking power and establishing the Soviet Republic, Bolshevism was united; it drew to itself all that was best in the trends of

socialist thought akin to it and rallied round itself the *entire* vanguard of the proletariat and the *overwhelming majority* of the working people.

And so it will be with the German Communists, too.

The followers of Scheidemann and Kautsky still talk about "democracy" in general, they still live in the ideas of 1848, they are Marxists in words, Louis Blancs in deeds. They prattle about the "majority" and believe that equality of ballot-papers signifies equality of exploited and exploiter, of worker and capitalist, of poor and rich, of the hungry and the satiated.

The Scheidemanns and the Kautskys would have us believe that the kind-hearted, honest, noble, peace-loving capitalists have never used the force of wealth, the force of money, the power of capital, the oppression of bureaucracy and military dictatorship, but have decided matters truly "by majority"!

The Scheidemanns and the Kautskys (partly from hypocrisy, partly from extreme stupidity, instilled by decades of reformist activity) *prettify* bourgeois democracy, bourgeois parliamentarism and the bourgeois republic, so as to make it appear that the capitalists decide affairs of state by the will of the majority, and not by the will of capital, not by means of deception and oppression and the violence of the rich against the poor.

The Scheidemanns and Kautskys are ready to "recognise" the proletarian revolution, but only with the proviso that first, while the force, power, oppression and privileges of capital and wealth *are retained*, the majority of the people shall vote (with the voting supervised by the bourgeois apparatus of state power) "*for revolution*"! It is difficult to imagine the extent of the philistine stupidity displayed in these views, or the extent of the philistine gullibility (*Vertrauensduselei*) in the capitalists, in the bourgeoisie, in the generals, and in the bourgeois apparatus of state power.

Actually, it is precisely the bourgeoisie that has always played the hypocrite by characterising formal equality as "democracy", and in practice using force against the poor, the working people, the small peasants and the workers, by employing countless means of deception, oppression, etc. The imperialist war (that the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys

painted in shamelessly bright colours) has made this plain to millions of people. Proletarian dictatorship is the *sole* means of defending the working people against the oppression of capital, the violence of bourgeois military dictatorship, and imperialist war. Proletarian dictatorship is the sole step to equality and democracy *in practice*, not on paper, but in life, not in political phrase-mongering, but in economic reality.

Having failed to understand this, the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys proved to be contemptible traitors to socialism and defenders of the ideas of the bourgeoisie.

* * *

The Kautskyite (or Independent) party is dying. It is bound to die and disintegrate soon as a result of the differences between its predominantly revolutionary membership and its counter-revolutionary "leaders".

The Communist Party, experiencing exactly the same (essentially the same) differences as were experienced by Bolshevism, will grow stronger and become as hard as steel.

The differences among the German Communists boil down, so far as I can judge, to the question of "utilising the legal possibilities" (as the Bolsheviks used to say in the 1910-13 period), of utilising the bourgeois parliament, the reactionary trade unions, the law on works' councils (*Betriebsratgesetz*), bodies that have been hamstrung by the Scheidemanns and Kautskys; it is a question of whether to participate in such bodies or boycott them.

We Russian Bolsheviks experienced quite similar differences in 1906 and in the 1910-12 period. And for us it is clear that with many of the young German Communists it is simply a case of a lack of revolutionary experience. Had they experienced a couple of bourgeois revolutions (1905 and 1917), they would not be advocating the boycott so unconditionally, nor fall from time to time into the mistakes of syndicalism.

This is a matter of growing pains; the movement is developing in fine style and as it grows they will pass. And these obvious mistakes must be combated openly; the differences must not be exaggerated since it must be clear to everyone

that in the near future the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviet power, will wipe out the greater part of them.

Both from the standpoint of Marxist theory and the experience of three revolutions (1905, February 1917 and October 1917) I regard refusal to participate in a bourgeois parliament, in a reactionary (Legien, Gompers, etc.) trade union, in an ultra-reactionary workers' council hamstrung by the Scheidemanns, etc., as an undoubted mistake.

At times, in individual cases, in individual countries, the boycott is correct, as, for example, was the Bolshevik boycott of the tsarist Duma in 1905. But the selfsame Bolsheviks took part in the much more reactionary and downright counter-revolutionary Duma of 1907. The Bolsheviks contested the elections to the bourgeois Constituent Assembly in 1917, and in 1918 we dispersed it, to the horror of the philistine democrats, the Kautskys and other such renegades from socialism. We worked in the ultra-reactionary, purely Menshevik, trade unions which (in their counter-revolutionary nature) yielded nothing to the Legien unions—the foulest and most reactionary trade unions in Germany. Even now, two years after the conquest of state power, we have not yet finished fighting the remnants of the Menshevik (i.e., the Scheidemann, Kautsky, Gompers, etc.) trade unions—so long is the process! So strong in some places and in some trades is the influence of petty-bourgeois ideas!

At one time we were in a minority in the Soviets, the trade unions and the co-operatives. By persistent effort and long struggle—both *before and after* the conquest of political power—we won a majority, first in *all* workers' organisations, then in non-worker and, finally, even in small-peasant organisations.

Only scoundrels or simpletons can think that the proletariat must first win a majority in elections carried out *under the yoke of the bourgeoisie*, under the *yoke of wage-slavery*, and must then win power. This is the height of stupidity or hypocrisy; it is substituting elections, under the old system and with the old power, for class struggle and revolution.

The proletariat wages its class struggle and does not wait for elections to begin a strike, although for the complete success of a strike it is necessary to have the sympathy of the

majority of the working people (and, it follows, of the majority of the population); the proletariat wages its class struggle and overthrows the bourgeoisie without waiting for any preliminary elections (supervised by the bourgeoisie and carried out under its yoke); and the proletariat is perfectly well aware that for the success of its revolution, for the successful overthrow of the bourgeoisie, it is *absolutely necessary* to have the sympathy of the majority of the working people (and, it follows, of the majority of the population).

The parliamentary cretins and latter-day Louis Blancs "insist" absolutely on elections, on elections that are most certainly supervised by the bourgeoisie, to ascertain whether they have the sympathy of the majority of the working people. But this is the attitude of pedants, of living corpses, or of cunning tricksters.

Real life and the history of actual revolutions show that quite often the "sympathy of the majority of the working people" cannot be demonstrated by any elections (to say nothing of elections supervised by the exploiters, with "equality" of exploiters and exploited!). Quite often the "sympathy of the majority of the working people" is demonstrated not by elections at all, but by the growth of one of the parties, or by its increased representation in the Soviets, or by the success of a strike which for some reason has acquired enormous significance, or by successes won in civil war, etc., etc.

The history of our revolution has shown, for example, that sympathy for the dictatorship of the proletariat on the part of the majority of the working people in the boundless expanses of the Urals and Siberia was ascertained not by means of elections, but by the experience of a year of the tsarist general Kolchak's rule in that area. Incidentally, Kolchak's rule also began with a "coalition" of the Scheidemann and Kautsky crowd (in Russian they are called Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, supporters of the Constituent Assembly), just as in Germany at the moment the Haases and Scheidemanns, through their "coalition", are paving the way to power for von Goltz or Ludendorff and covering up this power and making it look decent. In parenthesis it should be said that the Haase-Scheidemann coalition in the government has ended, but the political coalition of these betrayers

of socialism remains. Proof: Kautsky's books, Stampfer's articles in *Vorwärts*, the articles by the Kautskys and the Scheidemanns about their "unification", and so on.

The proletarian revolution is impossible without the sympathy and support of the overwhelming majority of the working people for their vanguard—the proletariat. But this sympathy and this support are not forthcoming immediately and are not decided by elections. They are *won* in the course of long, arduous and stern class struggle. The class struggle waged by the proletariat *for* the sympathy and support of the majority of the working people does not end with the conquest of political power by the proletariat. *After* the conquest of power this struggle continues, but in *other* forms. In the Russian revolution the circumstances were exceptionally favourable for the proletariat (in its struggle for its dictatorship), since the proletarian revolution took place at a time when all the people were under arms and when the peasantry as a whole, disgusted by the "Kautskyite" policy of the social-traitors, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, wanted the overthrow of the rule of the landowners.

But even in Russia, where things were exceptionally favourable at the moment of the proletarian revolution, where a most remarkable unity of the entire proletariat, the entire army and the entire peasantry was achieved at once—even in Russia, the proletariat, exercising its dictatorship, had to struggle for months and years to win the sympathy and support of the majority of the working people. After two years this struggle has practically, but still not completely, ended in favour of the proletariat. In two years we have won the full sympathy and support of the overwhelming majority of the workers and labouring peasants of Great Russia, including the Urals and Siberia, but as yet we have not won the full support and sympathy of the majority of the working peasants (as distinct from the peasant exploiters) of the Ukraine. We *could* be (but shall not be) crushed by the military might of the Entente, but *inside* Russia we *now* have such sound sympathy, and from such an enormous majority of the working people, that our state is the most democratic state the world has ever seen.

One has only to give some thought to this complex, difficult and long history of proletarian struggle for power—a struggle rich in the extraordinary variety of forms and in the unusual abundance of sharp changes, turns and switches from one form to another—to see clearly the error of those who would "forbid" participation in bourgeois parliaments, reactionary trade unions, tsarist or Scheidemann Shop Stewards Committees or works' councils, and so on and so forth. This error is due to the lack of revolutionary experience among quite sincere, convinced and valiant working-class revolutionaries. Consequently, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were a thousand times right in January 1919 when they realised this mistake, pointed it out, but nevertheless chose to remain with the proletarian revolutionaries, mistaken though they were on a minor question, rather than side with the traitors to socialism, the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys, who made no mistake on the question of participating in bourgeois parliaments, but had ceased to be socialists and had become philistine democrats and accomplices of the bourgeoisie.

A mistake, however, remains a mistake and it is necessary to criticise it and fight for its rectification.

The fight against the traitors to socialism, the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys, must be waged mercilessly, but not on the issue of for or against participation in bourgeois parliaments, reactionary trade unions, etc. This would be an obvious mistake, and a bigger mistake still would be to retreat from the ideas of Marxism and its practical line (a strong, centralised political party) to the ideas and practice of syndicalism. It is necessary to work for the Party's participation in bourgeois parliaments, in reactionary trade unions and in "works' councils" that have been mutilated and castrated in Scheidemann fashion, for the Party to be wherever workers are to be found, wherever it is possible to talk to workers, to influence the working masses. Legal and illegal work must at all costs be combined, the illegal Party, through its workers' organisations, must exercise systematic, constant and strict control over legal activity. This is no easy matter, but the proletarian revolution, generally speaking, knows nothing and can know nothing of "easy" tasks or "easy" means of struggle.

This difficult task must be carried out at all costs. The Scheidemann and Kautsky gang differ from us not only (and not chiefly) because they do not recognise the armed uprising and we do. The chief and radical difference is that in *all* spheres of work (in bourgeois parliaments, trade unions, co-operatives, journalistic work, etc.) they pursue an inconsistent, opportunist policy, even a policy of downright treachery and betrayal.

Fight against the social-traitors, against reformism and opportunism—this political line can and must be followed without exception in *all* spheres of our struggle. And then we shall win the working masses. And the vanguard of the proletariat, the Marxist centralised political party together with the working masses will take the people along the true road to the triumph of proletarian dictatorship, to proletarian instead of bourgeois democracy, to the Soviet Republic, to the socialist system.

In the space of a few months the Third International has won a number of glorious, unprecedented victories. The speed of its growth is astonishing. Particular mistakes and growing pains give no grounds for alarm. By criticising them directly and openly, we shall ensure that the working masses of all cultured countries, educated in the spirit of Marxism, quickly rid themselves of the betrayers of socialism, the Scheidemanns and Kautskys of *all* nations (for these traitors are to be found in all nations).

The victory of communism is inevitable. Communism will triumph.

N. Lenin

October 10, 1919

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THE WORKERS' STATE AND PARTY WEEK

Moscow Party Week[30] comes at a time of difficulty for the Soviet government. Denikin's successes have given rise to a frenzied increase in plots by the landowners, capitalists and their friends, and increased efforts on the part of the bourgeoisie to sow panic and undermine the strength of the Soviet rule by every means in their power. The vacillating, wavering, politically backward petty bourgeois, and with them the intelligentsia, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, have, as usual, become more shaky than ever and were the first to allow themselves to be intimidated by the capitalists.

Moscow Party Week at such a difficult time is, I think, something of an advantage to us, for it is much better for the cause. We do not need a Party Week for show purposes. We do not need fictitious Party members even as a gift. Our Party, the party of the revolutionary working class, is the only government party in the world which is concerned not with increasing its membership but with improving its quality, and purging itself of "self-seekers". We have more than once carried out the re-registration of Party members in order to get rid of these "self-seekers" and to leave in the Party only politically-conscious elements who are sincerely devoted to communism.[31] We have further taken advantage of the mobilisations for the front and of the subbotniks to purge the Party of those who are only "out for" the benefits accruing to membership of a government party and do not want to bear the burden of devoted work on behalf of communism.

And at this juncture, when intensified mobilisation for the front is in progress, Party Week is a good thing because

it offers no temptation to the self-seekers. We extend a broad invitation into the Party only to rank-and-file workers and poor peasants, to labouring peasants, *but not* to the peasant profiteers. We do not promise and do not give these rank-and-file members any advantages from joining the Party. On the contrary, just now harder and more dangerous work than usual falls to the lot of Party members.

So much the better. Only sincere supporters of communism, only persons who are conscientiously devoted to the workers' state, only honest working people, only genuine representatives of the masses that were oppressed under capitalism will join the Party.

And it is only such members that we need in the Party.

We need new Party members not for advertising purposes but for serious work. These are the people we invite into the Party. To the working people we throw the doors of the Party wide open.

Soviet power is the power of the working people that is fighting for the complete overthrow of the yoke of capital. The first to engage in this fight were the working class of the towns and the factory centres. They won the first victory and conquered state power.

The working class is winning to their side the majority of the peasants. For it is only the peasant huckster, the peasant profiteer, and not the labouring peasant who is drawn to the side of capital, to the side of the bourgeoisie.

The workers of Petrograd, the most advanced, the most politically-conscious workers, have been contributing most of all to the administration of Russia. But we know that among the rank-and-file workers and peasants there are very many people devoted to the interests of the working masses and capable of undertaking the work of leadership. Among them there are many with a talent for organisation and administration to whom capitalism gave no opportunity and whom we are helping and must help in every way to come to the fore and take up the work of building socialism. To discover these new, modest and unperceived talents is no easy matter. It is no easy matter to enlist for state administrative work rank-and-file workers and peasants who for centuries had been downtrodden and intimidated by the landowners and capitalists.

But this difficult work has to be done, it must be done, so as to draw more deeply on the working class and the labouring peasantry for new forces.

Comrades, non-party workers and labouring peasants, join the Party! We promise you no advantages from joining; it is hard work we are calling you to, the work of organising the state. If you are sincere supporters of communism, set about this work boldly, do not fear its novelty and the difficulty it entails, do not be put off by the old prejudice that only those who have received formal training are capable of this work. That is not true. The work of building socialism can and must be directed by rank-and-file workers and labouring peasants in ever-growing numbers.

The mass of the working people are with us. That is where our strength lies. That is the source of the invincibility of world communism. More new workers from among the masses for the ranks of the Party to take an independent part in building the new life—that is our method of combating all difficulties, that is our path to victory.

October 11, 1919

Pravda No. 228,
October 12, 1919
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to the manuscript

SPEECH TO MOBILISED WORKER COMMUNISTS DELIVERED FROM THE BALCONY OF MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES OCTOBER 16, 1919

NEWSPAPER REPORT

(*Lenin is greeted with stormy applause.*) Comrades, permit me to greet the workers of Yaroslavl and Vladimir gubernias who have once again answered our call and given their best forces for the defence of the workers' and peasants' republic. You know from the newspapers in which we print the whole truth, concealing nothing, what new and ominous danger is embodied in the capture of Orel by the tsarist general Denikin and the threat to Red Petrograd by Yudenich. But we regard this danger, and we struggle against it, in the way we always have—we appeal to the politically-conscious proletariat and working peasantry to stand firm in defence of their gains.

The situation is extremely grave. But we do not despair, for we know that every time a difficult situation for the Soviet Republic arises the workers display miracles of valour and by their example encourage and inspire the troops and lead them on to fresh victories.

We know that throughout the world, in all countries, the revolutionary movement is growing, slower than we would like, but definitely growing. We also know that the victory of the working class throughout the world is certain.

Great as the sacrifices made by Russia are, greatly as she has been tormented and mutilated, she is nevertheless fighting persistently for the cause of all workers. The impe-

rialists may crush another republic or two, but they cannot save world imperialism, for it is doomed and will be swept away by the coming socialism.

That is why I greet you, workers of Vladimir and Yaroslavl gubernias, in the firm conviction that you will, by your personal example, strengthen the spirit of the Red Army and lead it to victory.

Long live the workers and peasants!

Long live the world workers' republic!

Pravda No. 232,
October 12, 1919

Published according to
the *Pravda* text

TO THE WORKERS AND RED ARMY MEN OF PETROGRAD

Comrades, the decisive moment has arrived. The tsarist generals have again been provided with munitions and other supplies by the capitalists of Britain, France and America, and with gangs of landowners' sons are again trying to capture Red Petrograd. The enemy launched his attack at the time of the peace negotiations with Estonia, attacked our Red Army troops who believed in these negotiations. The treacherous nature of the attack partly explains the rapid successes of the enemy. Krasnoye Selo, Gatchina and Vyritsa have been captured. Two railway lines to Petrograd have been cut. The enemy is trying to cut the third, Nikolayevskaya, line, and the fourth, Vologda, line so as to starve Petrograd into surrender.

Comrades, you all know and can see for yourselves the tremendous threat hanging over Petrograd. A few days will decide the fate of the city, and that means half the fate of Soviet power in Russia.

There is no need for me to remind Petrograd workers and Red Army soldiers of their duty. The entire history of the two years' struggle of the Soviet Republic against the bourgeoisie of the whole world, a struggle of unprecedented difficulty that has brought unprecedented victories, has demonstrated that the Petrograd workers are not only a model in the fulfilment of their duty but have also shown examples of the greatest heroism and of revolutionary enthusiasm and devotion such as the world has never before seen.

Comrades, the fate of Petrograd is being decided! The enemy is trying to catch us unawares. His forces are weak, insignificant even, but he is strong because he is swift,

because his officers are insolent and because he is well supplied and well armed. Help for Petrograd is near at hand, we have sent reinforcements. We are much stronger than the enemy. Fight to the last drop of blood, comrades, hold fast to every inch of land, be firm to the end, victory is near! Victory will be ours!

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

October 17

Petrogradskaya Pravda No. 237,
October 19, 1919

Published according to
the manuscript

TO THE RED ARMY MEN

Comrades, Red Army men! The tsarist generals—Yudenich in the North and Denikin in the South—are once again bending every effort in an attempt to vanquish Soviet power and restore the power of the tsar, the landowners and the capitalists.

We know how a similar attempt by Kolchak ended. He did not succeed in deceiving the workers of the Urals and the peasants of Siberia for long. Having seen through the deception and having suffered endless violence, floggings and robbery at the hands of the officers, the sons of landowners and capitalists, the Ural workers and Siberian peasants helped our Red Army defeat Kolchak. The Orenburg Cossacks came straight over to the side of Soviet power.

That is why we are fully confident in victory over Yudenich and Denikin. They will not succeed in restoring the power of the tsar and the landowners. That will never be! The peasants are already rising in Denikin's rear. The flames of revolt against Denikin are burning brightly in the Caucasus. The Kuban Cossacks are grumbling and stirring to action, resentful of Denikin's violence and robbery on behalf of the landowners and the British.

Let us then be firm, comrades, Red Army men! The workers and peasants are rallying ever more solidly, consciously and resolutely to the side of the Soviet government.

Forward, comrades, Red Army men, to the fight for the workers' and peasants' rule, against the landowners and the tsarist generals! Victory will be ours!

October 19, 1919 *N. Lenin*

Published in 1919

Published according to the manuscript

RESULTS OF PARTY WEEK IN MOSCOW AND OUR TASKS

During Party Week in Moscow, 13,600 people were enrolled in the Party.

This is a huge, quite unexpected success. The entire bourgeoisie, and especially the urban petty bourgeoisie, including the specialists, officials and office workers who lament the loss of their privileged "ruling" position—all these gentlemen have recently, particularly during Party Week in Moscow, been doing their best to sow panic and to prophesy the imminent collapse of Soviet power and the imminent victory of Denikin.

And with what consummate artistry this "intellectualist" public wields the weapon of sowing panic! And it has indeed become a real weapon in the class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. In periods such as the one we are passing through, the petty bourgeoisie merges in "one reactionary mass" with the bourgeoisie and "passionately" seizes on this weapon.

It is Moscow, where the trading element was especially strong, where there was a greater concentration of exploiters, landowners, capitalists and rentiers than anywhere else, where capitalist development brought together a mass of bourgeois intellectuals, where the central state administration produced an especially large body of officials—it is Moscow that has furnished an exceptionally convenient field for bourgeois tittle-tattle, bourgeois malicious talk and bourgeois panic-sowing. The successful offensive of Denikin and Yudenich was a 'factor" that favoured to an extraordinary extent the "successes" of this bourgeois weapon.

And yet, when the mass of the proletarians saw Denikin's "successes" and realised all the difficulties, burdens and dangers attaching to the title and duties of a Communist at the present time, thousands and thousands of them rose up to reinforce the Party of Communists, to undertake the incredibly heavy burden of state administration.

The success of Soviet power, the success of our Party, is truly remarkable!

This success has proved and vividly demonstrated to the people of the capital, and then to the whole Republic and the whole world, that it is in the proletarian milieu, among the genuine representatives of the working people, that the most reliable source of the strength and durability of Soviet power is to be found. This successful voluntary enrolment in the Party at a time of maximum difficulty and danger is a real demonstration of *that aspect* of the dictatorship of the proletariat which its enemies, in their malice, refuse to see but which is valued above all by the real friends of the emancipation of labour from the capitalist yoke, namely, the special strength of the *moral* (in the best sense of the word) influence of the proletariat (which wields state power) on the masses, the *ways* this influence is exerted.

With state power in their hands, the foremost sections of the proletariat have by their example shown the mass of the working people, shown them throughout two whole years (an immense period for our exceptionally rapid tempo of political development), a *model* of such devotion to the interests of the working people, such vigour in the struggle against the enemies of the working people (against the exploiters in general and against "property-owners" and profiteers in particular), such firmness in difficult moments, such self-sacrificing resistance to the bandits of world imperialism, that the strength of the workers' and peasants' *sympathy* for their vanguard has proved *by itself* capable of *performing miracles*.

It is indeed a miracle. Workers, who have suffered unprecedented torments of hunger, cold, economic ruin and devastation, are not only maintaining their cheerful spirit, their entire devotion to Soviet power, all the energy of self-sacrifice and heroism, but also, despite their lack of

training and experience, are undertaking the burden of steering the ship of state! And this at a moment when the storm has reached the peak of its fury....

The history of our proletarian revolution is full of such miracles. They will lead, surely and inevitably, no matter what severe trials may be in store, to the full victory of the world Soviet republic.

We must take care now that *proper* use is made of the new Party members. Particularly great attention must be devoted to this task, for it is not an easy one; it is a new task and cannot be accomplished by old routines.

Capitalism stifled, suppressed and killed a wealth of talent among the workers and working peasants. These talents perished under the oppression of want, poverty and the outrage of human dignity. It is our duty now to bring out these talents and put them to work. The new members who have joined the Party during Party Week are undoubtedly for the most part inexperienced and ignorant in matters of state administration. Equally undoubtedly these are most devoted, most sincere and capable people from the sections of society that capitalism artificially *held down*, reduced to the lowest level and did not allow to rise. Among them, however, there is *more* strength, vigour, staunchness, directness and sincerity than among other sections.

It follows that all Party organisations must give especial thought to the employment of these new Party members. They must be *more boldly* given the most varied kinds of state work, they must be tested in practice as rapidly as possible.

Boldness, of course, must not be taken to mean that the new members are to be entrusted *at once* with responsible posts requiring knowledge they do not possess. We must be bold in combating red tape not for nothing has our Party Programme very definitely raised the question of the causes of a certain revival of bureaucratic methods and indicated methods of combating it. We must be bold in establishing, first of all, *supervision* over office workers, officials and specialists by new Party members who are well acquainted with the condition of the people, their needs and requirements. We must be bold in *immediately* affording these

new members opportunities for developing and displaying their abilities in work *on a broad scale*. We must be bold in breaking with customary routine (among us too—quite often, alas!—there is an excessive fear of encroaching on established Soviet routine, although sometimes the "establishing" has been done not by class-conscious Communists, but by old officials and office workers); we must be bold in the sense that we must be prepared with revolutionary speed to alter the form of work for new Party members so as to test them more quickly and to find the appropriate place for them.

In many cases new Party members can be given posts where, in the course of checking up the conscientiousness with which old officials perform their tasks, these Party members will quickly learn the job themselves and be able to take it over independently. In other cases they can be placed so as to renovate and refresh the intermediary links between the mass of workers and peasants on the one hand, and the state apparatus on the other. In our industrial "chief administrations and central boards", in our agricultural "state farms" there are still many, far too many, saboteurs, landowners and capitalists in hiding, who harm Soviet power in every way. Experienced Party workers in the centre and the localities should show their efficiency through their ability to make intensive use of the new Party forces for a determined fight against this evil.

The Soviet Republic must become a single armed camp where there is a maximum of effort, a maximum economy of forces, a maximum reduction of all red tape and unnecessary formalism and a maximum simplification of the apparatus which must be not only as close as possible to the needs of the masses, but also something they can readily understand and participate in independently.

Increased mobilisation of old Party members for army work is taking place. This activity must not be weakened in any way, but more and more intensified. At the same time, however, and with the aim of achieving success in the war, we must improve, simplify and revitalise our civil administration.

Victory in war goes to the side whose people has greater reserves, greater sources of strength and greater endurance.

We have more of all these qualities than the Whites, more than the "all-powerful" Anglo-French imperialism, this colossus with feet of clay. We have more of them because we can draw, and for a long time will continue to draw, more and more deeply upon the workers and working peasants, upon those classes which were oppressed by capitalism and which everywhere form the overwhelming majority of the population. We can draw from this most capacious reservoir, for it gives us leaders of the workers and peasants in the building of socialism who are most sincere, the most steeled by the burdens of life, the closest to the workers and peasants.

Our enemies, whether the Russian or the world bourgeoisie, have nothing remotely resembling this reservoir; the ground is more and more giving way under their feet; they are being deserted by ever greater number of their former supporters among the workers and peasants.

That is why, in the last analysis, the victory of Soviet power throughout the world is certain and inevitable.

October 21, 1919

Bulletin of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.)
No. 7, October 22, 1919
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to the text in *Bulletin of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.)*

SPEECH
TO STUDENTS OF THE SVERDLOV UNIVERSITY LEAVING FOR THE FRONT
OCTOBER 24, 1919

Comrades, you know it is not only the desire to celebrate the completion of the course of instruction at the Soviet school by the majority of you that has brought us here together, but also the decision taken by about a half the graduates to leave for the front to render fresh, extraordinary and substantial aid to the troops in action there.

Comrades, we are well aware of the great difficulties being experienced by our entire administration in the towns and, especially, in the rural areas because of the shortage of experienced, knowledgeable comrades. We are also well aware that the advanced workers of Petrograd, Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and other towns, those advanced comrades who until now have been bearing what one might call the main burden of administering the country under unprecedentedly difficult conditions, who have been bearing the main burden of uniting the workers and peasants and giving them guidance—we are well aware that these comrades are extremely exhausted by the superhuman efforts at times required of them for the defence of the Soviet Republic. Therefore, the opportunity to gather together here several hundred workers and peasants and give them the possibility of studying regularly for a few months, to complete a course of Soviet studies and then leave here in a body, organised, mustered, politically-conscious to do the work of government and to make good the tremendous defects that still remain—such an oppor-

tunity is of great value to us and it was with great difficulty and reluctance, and after considerable wavering that we took a decision to permit half the present graduation class to go to work at the front. The conditions obtaining at the front, however, are such that we were left with no other choice. And we were of the opinion that the decision, adopted voluntarily and for the purpose of dispatching to the front a number of the best people who would have been valuable in all administrative and organising work—this decision was called for by circumstances of undoubted necessity.

Comrades, permit me to give you a short review of the situation now obtaining on the various fronts so that you may judge how urgent this necessity has become.

On a number of fronts that were formerly extremely important and on which the enemy had placed great hopes, victory for our side has recently drawn nearer and it will, by all the signs, be complete and irrevocable. On the Northern Front, where the offensive against Murmansk promised the enemy particularly great advantages and where the British had long ago mustered huge, excellently equipped forces and where we had unbelievable difficulty in fighting because of the lack of food and equipment—there, it seemed, the prospects for the British and French imperialists were of the brightest. It was there, however, that the enemy offensive collapsed completely. The British had to withdraw their troops, and we now have full confirmation that the British workers do not want war against Russia and even now, when Britain is far from the revolutionary struggle, they are able to bring such pressure to bear on their government of predators and plunderers that they can force them to withdraw their troops from Russia. They have been forced to abandon this front which was particularly dangerous because the enemy there was in possession of a sea route and was in a most favourable position. There are Russian whiteguard forces of practically no significance left there.

Take another front—the Kolchak front. You know that when Kolchak's army advanced towards the Volga the capitalist press of Europe hurried to inform the whole world of the collapse of Soviet power and to recognise

Kolchak as the Supreme Ruler of Russia. Before the document announcing this recognition reached Kolchak, however, our troops had pushed him back into Siberia and, as you know, we approached Petropavlovsk and the River Irtysh and Kolchak was compelled to deploy his forces differently from the way he had intended. Time was when we had to withdraw because the local workers and peasants were late in mustering their forces. Information received from behind Kolchak's lines tells of his undoubted debacle, and the population, even the affluent peasants, are rising against him to a man. We are approaching the time when the last stronghold of Kolchak's forces will be smashed and that will bring us to the end of a year of revolution in the course of which all Siberia was under Kolchak's rule and when he was helped by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks who again went through the business of coming to an agreement with a bourgeois government. You know that all the European bourgeoisie helped Kolchak. You know that the Siberian line was held by the Poles and Czechs, that there were also Italians there and American officer volunteers. Everything that might paralyse the revolution came to the aid of Kolchak. And it all collapsed because the peasants, the Siberian peasants, who least of all submit to the influence of communism because they see least of it, were given such a lesson by Kolchak, such a *practical* comparison (and peasants like practical comparisons) that we may say that Kolchak has given us a million supporters in districts the farthest removed from industrial centres where we should have had difficulty in winning them over. That is how Kolchak's power came to an end and that is why we feel our position to be most stable on that front.

We can see that the Polish offensive on the Western Front is coming to an end. The Poles got help from Britain, France and America who all tried to arouse Poland's ancient hatred towards her Great-Russian oppressors, tried to transfer the Polish workers' hatred of the landowners and tsars, a hundred times deserved, to the Russian workers and peasants, and tried to make the Polish workers think that the Bolsheviks, like the Russian chauvinists, dream of conquering Poland. For the time being they were

successful in this. But there are definite signs that the time when this fraud was effective is now over and that disintegration has set in in the Polish army. American reports that cannot be suspected of sympathy for communism affirm that there is a growing demand among the Polish peasants to finish the war by October I at all costs, and that this demand is supported by even the most patriotic of the Polish social-chauvinists (P.S.P.)[32] who occupy the same position as our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and are offering greater and greater opposition to their government. In recent times the mood of the Poles has changed considerably.

That leaves two other fronts, the Petrograd and Southern fronts, where the most important events are taking place. Here, too, all the signs indicate that the enemy is mustering his last forces. We have precise information to the effect that Secretary for War Churchill and the capitalist party in Britain undertook this military venture against Petrograd to demonstrate the possibility of making a speedy end of Soviet Russia, and that the British press regards this venture as the last stake made by Mr. Churchill and the chauvinists against the undoubted will of the majority of the people.

We may regard the Petrograd attack as a measure of help to Denikin; this conclusion may be drawn from the situation on the Petrograd Front.

You know the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian governments have agreed to our proposal to start peace negotiations. Naturally this last piece of news has caused some wavering among our troops, giving them hopes that the war is drawing to an end. The negotiations have begun. In the meantime Britain collected her remaining vessels and landed several thousand whiteguards equipped with magnificent war materiel. They cannot transport them to us, however, unless they lull the people by deception, because in both Britain and France there have been cases of attempts to load war materiel on to ships having failed because the dockers struck work and said that they would not allow steamers carrying weapons of destruction to Soviet Russia to be loaded. The British imperialists had to get armaments from other countries, hoodwinking their

own people. No wonder, then, that they dispatched against Soviet Russia a few hundred or a few thousand Russian whiteguard officers. There are camps in Britain where these whiteguard officers are housed, fed and trained for the invasion of Russia; and then they say that this is an internal war brought about by the terrorism of the Bolsheviks. Camps that were once full of Russian prisoners of war are now full of Russian whiteguard officers. This accounts for the tremendous successes achieved by the enemy when he brought these forces up to the Petrograd Front at a time when we were expecting Latvia and Lithuania to conclude an armistice. You now know that the turning-points has been reached on the Petrograd Front. You know from the reports of Zinoviev and Trotsky that losses have been made up, that the former wavering has come to an end and that our forces are attacking, and attacking successfully, overcoming the most desperate resistance. These battles are outstanding in their extraordinary ferocity. Comrade Trotsky informed me by telephone from Petrograd that in Detskoye Selo, which we recently captured, whiteguards, and bourgeois who had remained behind, fired from individual houses, offering stubborn resistance, greater resistance than in any previous battles. The enemy feels that a turning-point has been reached in the entire war and that Denikin is in a position in which he must be helped and our forces attacking him diverted. It can be said definitely that they did not succeed in doing this. Everything we sent to help Petrograd was obtained without the slightest weakening of the Southern Front. Not a single unit for Petrograd was withdrawn from the Southern Front and that victory which we have begun to achieve and which we shall pursue to the end will be achieved without any weakening of the Southern Front where the outcome of the war against the landowners and the imperialists is being decided. That outcome will be there on the Southern Front, and in the near future.

Comrades, you know that on the Southern Front, on the one hand, the enemy relied mainly on the Cossacks who were fighting for their privileges, and on the other hand, more regiments of the volunteer army had been formed there than elsewhere; these were troops full of savage resentment

who fought for the interests of their class, for the restoration of the power of the landowners and capitalists. It is here, therefore, that we have to engage them in the decisive battle, and here we see the same as we saw in the case of Kolchak; at first he achieved tremendous success, but the longer the fighting went on, the thinner became the ranks of the officers and politically-conscious kulaks who formed the backbone of Kolchak's army, and the more workers and peasants he had to enlist. They like other people to do their fighting for them, they do not like making sacrifices themselves and prefer that the workers risk their necks in their interests. And when Kolchak had to expand his army, the expansion led to hundreds of thousands coming over to our side. Dozens of whiteguard officers and Cossacks who deserted to our side said that they had become convinced that Kolchak was selling Russia right and left, and although they did not share the views of the Bolsheviks they came over to the side of the Red Army. That is how Kolchak finished up and that is how Denikin will end up, too. Today you were able to read in the evening newspapers that there had been risings behind Denikin's lines—the Ukraine is aflame. We have reports of the events in the Caucasus where the mountain people, driven to despair, attacked Shkuro's regiments and took their rifles and ammunition away from them. Yesterday we received a foreign wireless message that admitted that Denikin's situation was a difficult one—he had been compelled to send his best forces into battle because the Ukraine was aflame and there was an uprising in the Caucasus. The time is coming when Denikin will have to stake everything. Never before have there been such ferocious, bloody battles as that at Orel, where the enemy sent his best regiments, the so-called "Kornilov" regiments, into battle; one-third of them were the most counter-revolutionary officers, the best trained and fiercest in their hatred of the workers and peasants, officers who were defending the restoration of their own landowners' rule. That is why we have every reason to believe that the decisive moment is approaching on the Southern Front. The victories at Orel and Voronezh where the pursuit of the enemy continues, show that here, as on the Petrograd Front, the turning-point has been reached.

We must ensure that our offensive will develop from a petty, partial attack into a gigantic mass offensive that will bring us the final victory.

That is why, no matter how great this sacrifice may be for us—the dispatch to the front of the hundreds of students gathered here and very obviously needed for work in Russia—we have nevertheless granted you your wish. There, on the Petrograd and Southern fronts, the fate of the war will be decided, if not in weeks, then at most in months. At such a moment every politically-conscious Communist should say to himself, "My place is there, ahead of the others at the front, where every politically-conscious Communist who has graduated from this school is of value."

If there has been some wavering among the troops it is only because the people have become tired of war. You are well aware of the hunger, ruination and torment that the workers and peasants have endured during these two years of struggle against the imperialists of the whole world. You know that those suffering mostly from fatigue will not stand up to the tension for long, and this is taken advantage of by the enemy who has better communications, a better staff and no traitors, and he attacks in full force. This is the reason for our failures on the Southern Front. That is why the most politically-conscious of the workers and peasants, those who have had courses of military training or courses similar to yours, must go to the front organised and solid, dividing up into large or small groups as agreed upon by the military authorities, and distributing duties among themselves so as to help the troops among whom a certain instability is manifest and where the enemy is pressing most strongly. Throughout the two years' existence of Soviet power, whenever a certain instability has made its appearance among the peasant masses who have never seen and do not know Soviet work, we have always appealed to the more organised section of the urban proletariat for help and have received the most heroic support from them.

Today I saw comrades from among the Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers who have allotted half the Party officials in responsible posts for dispatch to the front. One of them told me today of the enthusiasm with which tens of thous-

ands of non-party workers saw them off; one old man, a non-party worker, came up to them and said, "Don't worry, you may go, your place is there, we'll work for you here." When this mood makes itself apparent among non-party workers, when the non-party masses who are not yet quite clear on political questions see that we are sending the best of the workers and peasants to the front where they undertake the most difficult and most burdensome duties, duties of the greatest responsibility, where they will fight in the front ranks and make the greatest number of sacrifices, will die in desperate battles, then the number of our supporters among the less-developed non-party workers and peasants will increase tenfold and miracles will occur among troops that are wavering, weak and tired.

That, comrades, is the magnificent, onerous and difficult task with which you are faced. There is no choice for those who are leaving for the front as representatives of the workers and peasants. Their slogan must be victory or death. Each of you must be able to approach the most backward, the least developed Red Army men in order to explain the situation to them in the most comprehensible language, from the standpoint of a man of labour, help them in a moment of difficulty, eliminate all wavering, teach them to fight against numerous manifestations of inertia, sabotage, deception or treachery. You know that there are still many such manifestations in the ranks and among the commanders. Here people are needed who have been through a certain course of study, who understand the political situation and are able to help the masses of workers and peasants in their struggle against treachery and sabotage. Soviet power expects that you, in addition to displaying personal courage, will afford all-round help to those masses and so put an end to all wavering among them and show them that Soviet power possesses forces to resort to in a moment of difficulty. Those forces we possess in sufficient numbers.

I repeat that we must now make this great sacrifice only because this is the main and the last front where, by all the signs, the fate of the whole Civil War will be decided within the next few weeks or months. Here we can once

and for all deliver the enemy a blow that he will never recover from. After this bloody struggle against the white-guards, a struggle that they imposed on us, we shall at last be able to get on with our own affairs, with real development, more freely and with redoubled energy. That is why I greet those of you, comrades, who have taken upon yourselves the difficult and magnificent task of fighting to the end in the ranks at the front, and I bid you farewell in the full confidence that you will bring us complete and final victory.

Pravda Nos. 240 and 241,
October 26 and 28, 1919

Published according to
the *Pravda* text

TO COMRADE LORIOT AND ALL THE FRENCH FRIENDS WHO ADHERED TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

October 28, 1919

Dear Friend,

I thank you with all my heart for your letter, which is the more precious because we very rarely receive any from you.

In France, as in England, victorious imperialism has not only enriched a certain number of small capitalists, but it has also been able to give alms to the upper grade of workers, the aristocracy of the working class, by throwing it a few crumbs from the imperialist exploit, won by the pillage of the colonies, and so on.

But the crisis caused by the war is so serious that even in the conquering countries the working masses are inevitably condemned to appalling misery. From this springs the rapid growth of communism and the increasing movement of sympathy towards the Soviet power and towards the Third International.

It follows that you must maintain a long struggle still, especially with the very refined opportunists of the Longuet type; in the same way the experimenters and politicians will continue making effort after effort to make words suffice where it is a question of revolutionary tactics and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, they will continue to deceive the proletariat by means of new subterfuges, as Longuet, Merrheim and company did regarding the 21st of July. They will adhere to their old opportunist policy which consists in hindering the revolution and in

prejudicing it in all ways. In France and in England the old rotten (*pourris*) leaders of the workers will make thousands of such attempts.

But we are sure that the Communists who are working in close contact with the proletarian masses will succeed in paralysing and in breaking these attempts. The more the Communists are firm and energetic in their attitude, the sooner they will gain a complete victory.

With communist greetings,

N. Lenin

Published in English
in *The Workers' Dreadnought*
No. 41, January 3, 1920

First published in Russian in 1932

Published according to
the manuscript

LETTER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY REGARDING THE SPLIT[33]

TO COMRADES PAUL LEVI, CLARA ZETKIN, EBERLEIN AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE C.C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

October 28, 1919

Dear Friends

I have forwarded to you for publication a letter dated October 10, 1919, "Greetings to French, Italian and German Communists", in which I have referred, among other things, to your disagreements with the supporters of the boycott, the semi-syndicalists, etc. Today I have learned from the German government wireless message (from Nauen) about a split in your party: although the source is a filthy one, it is probably telling the truth in this case, because letters from our friends in Germany speak of the possibility of a split.

The only thing that seems incredible is this radio report that with 25 votes against 18, you *expelled* the minority, which, they tell us, then set up a party of its own. I know very little about this breakaway opposition, for I have seen only a few issues of the Berlin *Rote Fahne*. My impression is that they are very gifted propagandists, inexperienced and young, like our own Left Communists ("Left" due to lack of experience and youth) of 1918. Given agreement *on the basic issue* (for Soviet rule, against bourgeois parliamentarism), unity, in my opinion, is possible and necessary, just as a split is necessary with the Kautskyites. If the split was inevitable, efforts should be made not to deepen it, but to approach the Executive Committee of the Third

International for mediation and to make the "Lefts" formulate their differences in theses and in a pamphlet. Restoration of unity in the Communist Party of Germany is both possible and necessary from the international standpoint. I would be extremely glad to get a letter from you on this subject. I am enclosing a letter to the breakaway group, and hope that you will forward it at the time of publishing my article, which, written *before* the news of the split was received, fully recognises the correctness of your standpoint.

A hearty handshake and warm wishes for success to you in your difficult work. The communist movement is growing splendidly throughout the world. It is slower than we would like, but broad, powerful, deep and invincible. As was the case in Russia, the stage of the dominance of the "Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries" (of the Second International) is discernible everywhere. This dominance will be succeeded by that of the Communists and the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Soviet government.

With communist greetings,

N. Lenin

First published in 1932

Published according to the manuscript

TO THE COMMUNIST COMRADES WHO BELONGED TO THE UNITED "COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY" AND HAVE NOW FORMED A NEW PARTY

October 28, 1919

Dear Comrades,

Only today have I learned of the split from the brief wireless message of the German Government (from Nauen). My article, "Greetings to French, Italian and German Communists", was written before the news of the split arrived.

In that article I tried, from the standpoint of international communism, to appraise your position, insofar as I could acquaint myself with it in some issues of the Berlin *Rote Fahne*. I am convinced that the Communists who are agreed on the basic issue (the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for Soviet government) and are implacably hostile to the Scheidemann and the Kautsky groups in all nations, could and should have acted in unison. In my opinion, differences on less important issues can, and unfailingly will, vanish; this will result from the logic of the joint struggle against the really formidable enemy, the bourgeoisie, and its overt (Scheidemann) and covert (Kautsky) servitors.

I am not a member of the Executive Committee of the Third International, but I believe it will offer the German Communists its good services in restoring German communist unity. It is not surprising that the furious persecutions, which have made the Party illegal, impeded its work and hindered a proper exchange of ideas and the elaboration of common tactics. A careful discussion of

differences and an exchange of views on an international scale could assist in advancing the cause of German communism and in mustering its forces.

I shall be very glad if we manage to exchange opinions on these questions.

With communist greetings,

N. Lenin

First published in the Fourth (Russian) Edition of the *Collected Works*

Published according to the manuscript

TO COMRADE SERRATI AND TO ALL ITALIAN COMMUNISTS

October 28, 1919

Dear Friend,

The news we get from Italy is extremely scanty. It is only from the foreign (non-communist) press that we have learned of your Party Congress at Bologna and of the splendid victory of communism. I send my heartfelt greetings to you and all the Italian Communists, and wish you every success. The example of the Italian Party will be of enormous significance to the whole world. In particular, the resolution of your Congress on participating in elections to the bourgeois parliament is in my opinion perfectly correct, and I hope that it will help to achieve unity in the Communist Party of Germany, which has just split on this issue.

There is no doubt that the overt and the covert opportunists, who are so numerous among the parliamentarians in the Italian Party, will try to circumvent and nullify the Bologna resolutions. The struggle against these trends is by no means over, but the victory at Bologna will facilitate further victories.

Difficult tasks lie ahead for the Italian proletariat owing to Italy's position in the international field. Britain and France, with the co-operation of the Italian bourgeoisie, may possibly try to provoke the Italian proletariat to a premature uprising in order the easier to crush it. But their provocation will fail. The brilliant work of the Italian Communists guarantees that they will be just as successful in winning the entire industrial and the *entire rural* proletariat plus the small peasants, and then, if the proper

moment is chosen internationally, victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat in Italy will be enduring. That is also guaranteed by the successes of the Communists in France, Britain and throughout the world.

With communist greetings,
N. Lenin

Published in Italian in *Avanti!* (Rome) No. 332, December 5, 1919

First published in Russian in 1932

Published according to the manuscript

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT[34]

Written September-October 1919
First published in 1925

Published according to the manuscript

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT[34]

Written September-October 1919
First published in 1925

Published according to
the manuscript

For treatment in the pamphlet the question falls into *4* main sections:

(*A*) The dictatorship of the proletariat as new forms of the class struggle of the proletariat (in other words: its new stage and new tasks).

(*B*) The dictatorship of the proletariat as the destruction of bourgeois democracy and the creation of proletarian democracy.

(*C*) The dictatorship of the proletariat and the distinguishing features of imperialism (or the imperialist stage of capitalism).

(*D*) The dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power.

Plan for the elaboration of these 4 sections:

I (A) THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AS NEW FORMS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. The chief reason why the "socialists" do not understand the dictatorship of the proletariat is that they do not carry the idea of the class struggle to its logical conclusion (cf. Marx, 1852).[35]

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the *continuation* of the class struggle of the

proletariat in *new* forms. That is the crux of the matter, and that is what they do not understand.

The proletariat, as a *special* class, alone *continues* to wage its class struggle.

2. The state is only a *weapon* of the proletariat in its class struggle. A special kind of cudgel, *rien de plus*!*

Old prejudices regarding the state (cf. *The State and Revolution*). New forms of the state—the subject of section *B*; here only the *approach* to it.

3. The forms of the class struggle of the proletariat, under its dictatorship, cannot be what they were before. *Five* new (principal) tasks and correspondingly five new forms:

4. (1) *Suppression of the resistance of the exploiters*. This, as the task (and content) of the *epoch*, is entirely forgotten by the opportunists and the "socialists".

Hence:

(αα) the special (higher) severity of the class struggle

(ββ) new forms of resistance corresponding to capitat- The resistance of the exploiters begins *before* their overthrow and afterwards becomes *intensified* from *two* sides. A fight to a *finish*,

* Nothing more.—*Ed*.

ism and its highest stage (plots+sabotage+influence on the petty bourgeoisie, etc., etc.) and, in particular, or "talk one's way out" (Karl Kautsky, the petty bourgeoisie, the socialists).

5. (2) (γγ) *Civil war.*

Revolution in general and civil war (1649, 1793) (cf. Karl Kautsky, 1902, in *The Social Revolution*).

Civil war in the epoch of the international ties of capitalism.

Civil war and the "destruction" of the party (Karl Kautsky).

Terror and civil war.

Transformation of imperialist war into civil war. (Ignorance and despicable cowardice of the "socialists".)

α) **Russia**, *Hungary*, *Finland*, **Germany**.
β) Switzerland and America.

Cf. Marx, 1870[36]: give the proletariat practice in arms. The *epoch* 1871-1914 and the *epoch* of civil wars.

+Inevitability of a combination of civil war with revolutionary wars (cf. Programme of the R.C.P.).

6. (3) "*Neutralisation*" *of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry.*

Communist Manifesto (reactionary and revolutionary "only in view of").

Karl Kautsky in the *Agrarfrage*. The same idea of neutralisation, only *verballhornt*.*

The "ruling class". Rule precludes "liberty and equality".

"To head", "to lead", "to take with", the class meaning of these concepts.

* Bowdlerised.—*Ed.*

"Neutralisation" in practice means

{ suppression by force (Engels, 1895)
{ example
{ persuasion, etc., etc.

enlisting+suppression, "only in view of".

NB — Peasant and worker. The peasant as a toiler and the peasant as an exploiter (profiteer, property-owner). "Only in view of." Vacillations in the course of the struggle. *Experience* of the struggle.

"One reactionary mass": Engels, 1875, in respect of the Commune.[37]

7. (4) "*Utilisation*" *of the bourgeoisie*.

"Specialists." Not only suppression of resistance, not only "neutralisation", but setting them to work, compelling them to serve the proletariat.

Cf. Programme of the R.C.P. "Military Specialists."

8. (5) *Inculcation of a new discipline*.

(α) The dictatorship of the proletariat and the trade unions.

(β) Bonuses and piece rates.

(γ) Party purge and its role.

(δ) "Communist subbotniks."

II (B) THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AS THE DESTRUCTION OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND THE CREATION OF PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY

9. Dictatorship and democracy as "general" ("pure", according to Karl Kautsky) concepts.

Dictatorship as the denial of democracy. For whom?
Abstract (petty-bourgeois) democratic view and Marxism (class struggle).
Definition. Force (Engels).

State and "liberty" (cf, Engels, 1875).[38]

10. "Liberty." = Liberty for the commodity owner.
Real liberty for the wage-workers, for the peasants.
Liberty for the exploiters.
Liberty for whom?
from whom? from what?
Liberty in what?

11. "Equality." Engels in *Anti-Dühring* (prejudice, if it goes beyond the abolition of classes).[39]
Equality between the exploited and the exploiter.
Equality between hungry and satiated.
Equality between worker and peasant.
Equality between whom? In what?

Equality of the *commodity owners*.

12. Decision by majority.
Its conditions: real equality (culture)

real freedom.
Cf. press, assembly, etc.
All are equal, *leaving out of account* money, capital, land....

13. Decision by majority. Another condition for it= "conscientious" subordination.
Utopia of reformism.
Gilding of capitalism.

First throw off the yoke of money, the power of capital, abolish private property, then the *slow growth* of "conscientiousness" on *this* new basis.

14. Reality of the *bourgeois*-democratic republic.
Engels on the connection of the government with the stock exchange and *capital*.[40]

Corruption
deceit
press
assembly
parliament
custom
pressure of capital
(public opinion, etc.).

Formal equality while bourgeois oppression, the yoke of capital, and wage-slavery are preserved.

15. The imperialist war of 1914-18 as the "last word" in bourgeois democracy.
The "peace" of 1918-19.
Foreign policy.
Army and Navy.

16. The bureaucracy. The courts. Militarism.
Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie masked by parliamentary forms.

17. Decision by majority and *strength* of majority. 51 per cent of the "proletariat".

Decision of "*all*"? *despite* waverers and *excluding* exploiters.

{ Imperialist influence status of petty bourgeoisie, etc., "semi-proletariat". } versus 20 per cent + 40 ½ per cent?

Motives of referendums (bourgeois surroundings).

18. Peaceful voting and sharpened class struggle.

[First "decide", then quietly vote?
First the development of the class struggle.

Economic and political conditions for sharpening of class struggle.

Destruction of the bourgeois surroundings, their real conditions of motivation of will.

19. Reality of democracy under *proletarian* democracy.
Achievements of democracy: congresses, meetings, press, religion, women, oppressed nations.

20. The historical change from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy.
"Growing over", "creeping into", or the break-up of the former and birth of the latter? = Revolution, or without revolution? Conquest of political power by the new class, overthrow of the bourgeoisie, or a deal, a compromise between classes?

III (C) THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF IMPERIALISM

21. Imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism.
Resume of my book.
Definition.

22. The colonies and dependent countries.
Revolt of the *proletariat* against the bourgeoisie of its own country+revolt of the *nations* in the colonies and dependent countries.
Revolutionary proletarian wars and national wars (cf. Programme of the R.C.P.).

23. Seizure of territory by the League of Nations.
A "single" oppressor. Concentration of the struggle.
Variety of stages.

24. The bourgeois upper layer of the proletariat.
1852-92, Engels and Marx.[41]
1872, Marx on the leaders of the British trade unions.[42]
Labour lieutenants of the capitalist class.*
Social-chauvinism.

Two chief "streams": the corrupt and the philistines.

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* This sentence is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

Split of 1915-17, "Centre".
" " 1917-19 (cf. Programme of the R.C.P.).

Vorwärts ("*Radikalisierung der englischen Arbeiter*") ... "*eine gewisse Grösse*"* of Bolsheviks.

Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung No. 180 (July 2, 1919)

Friedrich Adler in his speech. ΣΣΣ [in its totality]—the sophistry of a turncoat.

25. Two *Internationals*. Dictatorship of the *revolutionary* elements of the class.

One country and the whole world.

IV (D) THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND SOVIET POWER

26. Origin of the Soviets. 1905 and 1917.

27. Peculiarities of Russia.

Kautsky: "Slavs and Revolution."

28. Soviets and "compromise"

March-October 1917.

Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

1894 (Struve) and 1899 (Bernstein)
Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries
(1917)-1918-19-20
... (in Europe).

29. Ignorance and stupidity of *leaders* of the Second International. Nothing about Soviets.

Kautsky in his pamphlet, *August 1918*.

Soviets for the struggle, *but not* for state power!

* Radicalisation of the British workers ... a certain number.—*Ed*.

30. But the *proletarian masses* see it differently: class instinct!

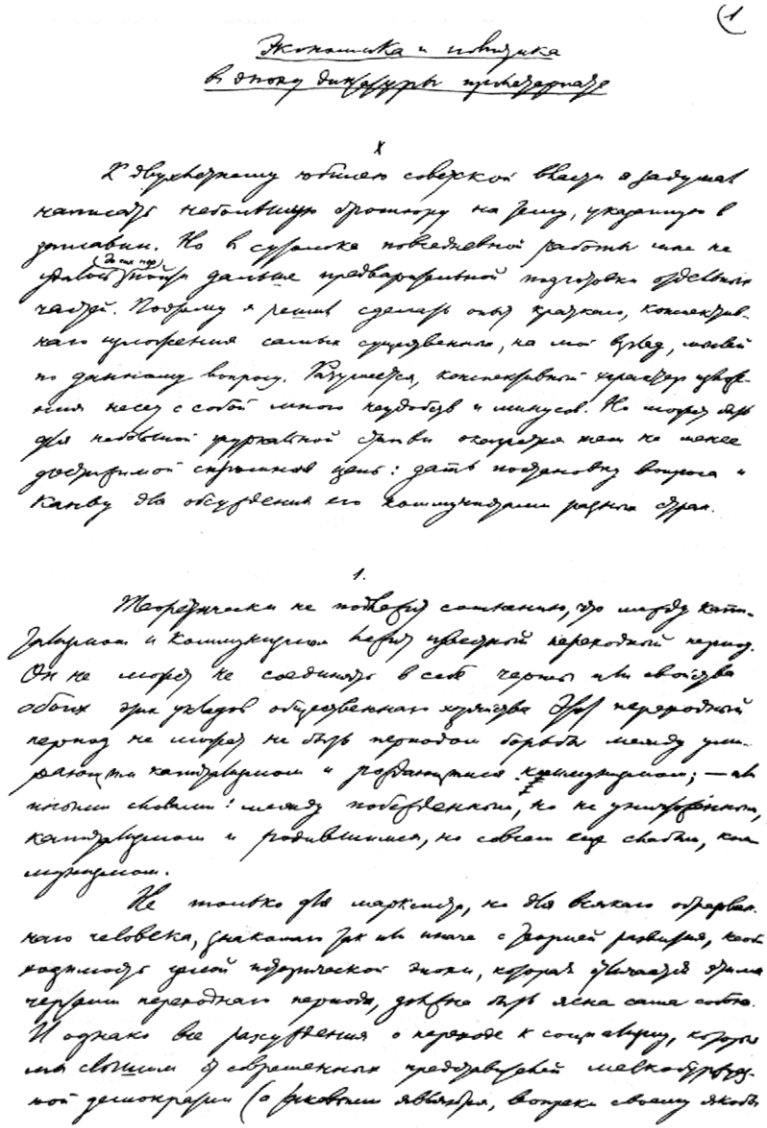
31. Triumphal march of the Soviet idea through the world.

The form of the dictatorship of the proletariat discovered (by the mass movement of the proletariat)!
The Third International.

Direct and *indirect* (inclusion in the German Constitution) victory of the Soviet idea.
The idea has won over the masses.

32. Soviet Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R.
N.B. its §*23*[43]

1793-94 versus 1917-19.



First page of Lenin's manuscript "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat". October 30, 1919. *Reduced*

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat". October 30, 1919. Reduced

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS IN THE ERA OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

I had intended to write a short pamphlet on the subject indicated in the title on the occasion of the second anniversary of Soviet power. But owing to the rush of everyday work I have so far been unable to get beyond preliminary preparations for some of the sections. I have therefore decided to essay a brief, summarised exposition of what, in my opinion, are the most essential ideas on the subject. A summarised exposition, of course, possesses many disadvantages and shortcomings. Nevertheless, a short magazine article may perhaps achieve the modest aim in view, which is to present the problem and the groundwork for its discussion by the Communists of various countries.

1

Theoretically, there can be no doubt that between capitalism and communism there lies a definite transition period which must combine the features and properties of both these forms of social economy. This transition period has to be a period of struggle between dying capitalism and nascent communism—or, in other words, between capitalism which has been defeated but not destroyed and communism which has been born but is still very feeble.

The necessity for a whole historical era distinguished by these transitional features should be obvious not only to Marxists, but to any educated person who is in any degree acquainted with the theory of development. Yet all the talk on the subject of the transition to socialism which

we hear from present-day petty-bourgeois democrats (and such, in spite of their spurious socialist label, are all the leaders of the Second International, including such individuals as MacDonald, Jean Longuet, Kautsky and Friedrich Adler) is marked by complete disregard of this obvious truth. Petty-bourgeois democrats are distinguished by an aversion to class struggle, by their dreams of avoiding it, by their efforts to smooth over, to reconcile, to remove sharp corners. Such democrats, therefore, either avoid recognising any necessity for a whole historical period of transition from capitalism to communism or regard it as their duty to concoct schemes for reconciling the two contending forces instead of leading the struggle of one of these forces.

FROM MARX TO MAO

2

In Russia, the dictatorship of the proletariat must inevitably differ in certain particulars from what it would be in the advanced countries, owing to the very great backwardness and petty-bourgeois character of our country. But the basic forces—and the basic forms of social economy—are the same in Russia as in any capitalist country, so that the peculiarities can apply only to what is of lesser importance.

NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

The basic forms of social economy are capitalism, petty commodity production, and communism. The basic forces are the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie (the peasantry in particular) and the proletariat.

The economic system of Russia in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat represents the struggle of labour, united on communist principles on the scale of a vast state and making its first steps—the struggle against petty commodity production and against the capitalism which still persists and against that which is newly arising on the basis of petty commodity production.

In Russia, labour is united communistically insofar as, first, private ownership of the means of production has been abolished, and, secondly, the proletarian state power is organising large-scale production on state-owned land and in state-owned enterprises on a national scale, is dis-

tributing labour-power among the various branches of production and the various enterprises, and is distributing among the working people large quantities of articles of consumption belonging to the state.

We speak of "the first steps" of communism in Russia (it is also put that way in our Party Programme adopted in March 1919), because all these things have been only partially effected in our country, or, to put it differently, their achievement is only in its early stages. We accomplished instantly, at one revolutionary blow, all that can, in general, be accomplished instantly; on the first day of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for instance, on October 26 (November 8),1917, the private ownership of land was abolished without compensation for the big landowners—the big landowners were expropriated. Within the space of a few months practically all the big capitalists, owners of factories, joint-stock companies, banks, railways, and so forth, were also expropriated without compensation. The state organisation of large-scale production in industry and the transition from "workers' control" to "workers' management" of factories and railways—this has, by and large, already been accomplished; but in relation to agriculture it has only just begun ("state farms", i.e., large farms organised by the workers' state on state-owned land). Similarly, we have only just begun the organisation of various forms of co-operative societies of small farmers as a transition from petty commodity agriculture to communist agriculture.* The same must be said of the state-organised distribution of products in place-of private trade, i.e., the state procurement and delivery of grain to the cities and of industrial products to the countryside. Available statistical data on this subject will be given below.

Peasant farming continues to be petty commodity production. Here we have an extremely broad and very sound, deep-rooted basis for capitalism, a basis on which capitalism persists or arises anew in a bitter struggle against

* The number of "state farms" and "agricultural communes" in Soviet Russia is, as far as is known, 3,536 and 1,961 respectively, and the number of agricultural artels is 3,696. Our Central Statistical Board is at present taking an exact census of all state farms and communes. The results will begin coming in in November 1919.

communism. The forms of this struggle are private speculation and profiteering versus state procurement of grain (and other products) and state distribution of products in general.

3

To illustrate these abstract theoretical propositions, let us quote actual figures.

According to the figures of the People's Commissariat of Food, state procurements of grain in Russia between August 1, 1917, and August 1, 1918, amounted to about 30,000,000 poods, and in the following year to about 110,000,000 poods. During the first three months of the next campaign (1919-20) procurements will presumably total about 45,000,000 poods, as against 37,000,000 poods for the same period (August-October) in 1918.

These figures speak clearly of a slow but steady improvement in the state of affairs from the point of view of the victory of communism over capitalism. This improvement is being achieved in spite of difficulties without world parallel, difficulties due to the Civil War organised by Russian and foreign capitalists who are harnessing all the forces of the world's strongest powers.

Therefore, in spite of the lies and slanders of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of their open or masked henchmen (the "socialists" of the Second International), one thing remains beyond dispute—as far as the basic economic problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat is concerned, the victory of communism over capitalism in our country is assured. Throughout the world the bourgeoisie is raging and fuming against Bolshevism and is organising military expeditions, plots, etc., against the Bolsheviks, because it realises full well that our success in reconstructing the social economy is inevitable, provided we are not crushed by military force. And its attempts to crush us in this way are not succeeding.

The extent to which we have already vanquished capitalism in the short time we have had at our disposal, and despite the incredible difficulties under which we have had to work, will be seen from the following summarised figures.

The Central Statistical Board has just prepared for the press data on the production and consumption of grain—not for the whole of Soviet Russia, but only for twenty-six gubernias.

The results are as follows:

26 gubernias of Soviet Russia	Population in millions	Production of grain (excluding seed and fodder), millions poods	Grain delivered, millions poods		Total amount of grain at disposal of population millions poods	Grain consumption, poods per capita
			Commissariat of food	Profiteers		
Producing gubernias	Urban 4.4	—	20.9	20.6	41.5	9.5
	Rural 28.6	625.4	—	—	481.8	16.9
Consuming gubernias	Urban 5.9	—	20.0	20.0	40.0	6.8
	Rural 13.8	114.0	12.1	27.8	151.4	11.0
Total (26 gubernias)	52.7	739.4	53.0	68.4	714.7	13.6

Thus, approximately half the amount of grain supplied to the cities is provided by the Commissariat of Food and the other half by profiteers. This same proportion is revealed by a careful survey, made in 1918, of the food consumed by city workers. It should be borne in mind that for bread supplied by the state the worker pays *one-ninth* of what he pays the profiteer. The profiteering price for bread is *ten times* greater than the state price; this is revealed by a detailed study of workers' budgets.

4

A careful study of the figures quoted shows that they present an exact picture of the fundamental features of Russia's present-day economy.

The working people have been emancipated from their age-old oppressors and exploiters, the landowners and capitalists. This step in the direction of real freedom and real equality, a step which for its extent, dimensions and

rapidity is without parallel in the world, is ignored by the supporters of the bourgeoisie (including the petty-bourgeois democrats), who, when they talk of freedom and equality, mean parliamentary bourgeois democracy, which they falsely declare to be "democracy" in general, or "pure democracy" (Kautsky).

But the working people are concerned only with real equality and real freedom (freedom from the landowners and capitalists), and that is why they give the Soviet government such solid support.

In this peasant country it was the peasantry as a whole who were the first to gain, who gained most, and gained immediately from the dictatorship of the proletariat. The peasant in Russia starved under the landowners and capitalists. Throughout the long centuries of our history, the peasant never had an opportunity to work for himself: he starved while handing over hundreds of millions of poods of grain to the capitalists, for the cities and for export. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the peasant *for the first time* has been working for himself and *feeding better than the city dweller*. For the first time the peasant has seen real freedom—freedom to eat his bread, freedom from starvation. In the distribution of the land, as we know, the maximum equality has been established; in the vast majority of cases the peasants are dividing the land according to the number of "mouths to feed".

Socialism means the abolition of classes.

In order to abolish classes it is necessary, first, to overthrow the landowners and capitalists. This part of our task has been accomplished, but it is only a part, and moreover, *not* the most difficult part. In order to abolish classes it is necessary, secondly, to abolish the difference between factory worker and peasant, to make *workers of all of them*. This cannot be done all at once. This task is incomparably more difficult and will of necessity take a long time. It is not a problem that can be solved by overthrowing a class. It can be solved only by the organisational reconstruction of the whole social economy, by a transition from individual, disunited, petty commodity production to large-scale social production. This transition must of necessity be extremely protracted. It may only be delayed

and complicated by hasty and incautious administrative and legislative measures. It can be accelerated only by affording such assistance to the peasant as will enable him to effect an immense improvement in his whole farming technique, to reform it radically.

In order to solve the second and most difficult part of the problem, the proletariat, after having defeated the bourgeoisie, must unswervingly conduct its policy towards the peasantry along the following fundamental lines. The proletariat must separate, demarcate the working peasant from the peasant owner, the peasant worker from the peasant huckster, the peasant who labours from the peasant who profiteers.

In this demarcation lies the *whole essence* of socialism.

And it is not surprising that the socialists who are socialists in word but petty-bourgeois democrats in deed (the Martovs, the Chernovs, the Kautskys and others) do not understand this essence of socialism.

The demarcation we here refer to is an extremely difficult one, because in real life all the features of the "peasant", however diverse they may be, however contradictory they may be, are fused into one whole. Nevertheless, demarcation is possible; and not only is it possible, it inevitably follows from the conditions of peasant farming and peasant life. The working peasant has for ages been oppressed by the landowners, the capitalists, the hucksters and profiteers and by *their* state, including even the most democratic bourgeois republics. Throughout the ages the working peasant has trained himself to hate and loathe these oppressors and exploiters, and this "training", engendered by the conditions of life, *compels* the peasant to seek an alliance with the worker against the capitalist and against the profiteer and huckster. Yet at the same time, economic conditions, the conditions of commodity production, inevitably turn the peasant (not always, but in the vast majority of cases) into a huckster and profiteer.

The statistics quoted above reveal a striking difference between the working peasant and the peasant profiteer. That peasant who during 1918-19 delivered to the hungry workers of the cities 40,000,000 poods of grain at fixed state prices, who delivered this grain to the state agencies

despite all the shortcomings of the latter, shortcomings fully realised by the workers' government, but which were unavoidable in the first period of the transition to socialism—that peasant is a working peasant, the comrade and equal of the socialist worker, his most faithful ally, his blood brother in the fight against the yoke of capital. Whereas that peasant who clandestinely sold 40,000,000 poods of grain at ten times the state price, taking advantage of the need and hunger of the city worker, deceiving the state, and everywhere increasing and creating deceit, robbery and fraud—that peasant is a profiteer, an ally of the capitalist, a class enemy of the worker, an exploiter. For whoever possesses surplus grain gathered from land belonging to the whole state with the help of implements in which in one way or another is embodied the labour not only of the peasant but also of the worker and so on—whoever possesses a surplus of grain and profiteers in that grain is an exploiter of the hungry worker.

You are violators of freedom, equality, and democracy—they shout at us on all sides, pointing to the inequality of the worker and the peasant under our Constitution, to the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, to the forcible confiscation of surplus grain, and so forth. We reply—never in the world has there been a state which has done so much to remove the actual inequality, the actual lack of freedom from which the working peasant has been suffering for centuries. But we shall never recognise equality with the peasant profiteer, just as we do not recognise "equality" between the exploiter and the exploited, between the sated and the hungry, nor the "freedom" for the former to rob the latter. And those educated people who refuse to recognise this difference we shall treat as whiteguards, even though they may call themselves democrats, socialists, internationalists, Kautskys, Chernovs, or Martovs.

5

Socialism means the abolition of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat has done all it could to abolish classes. But classes cannot be abolished at one stroke.

And classes still *remain* and *will remain* in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship will become unnecessary when classes disappear. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat they will not disappear.

Classes have remained, but in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat *every* class has undergone a change, and the relations between the classes have also changed. The class struggle does not disappear under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it merely assumes different forms.

Under capitalism the proletariat was an oppressed class, a class which had been deprived of the means of production, the only class which stood directly and completely opposed to the bourgeoisie, and therefore the only one capable of being revolutionary to the very end. Having overthrown the bourgeoisie and conquered political power, the proletariat has become the *ruling* class; it wields state power, it exercises control over means of production already socialised; it guides the wavering and intermediary elements and classes; it crushes the increasingly stubborn resistance of the exploiters. All these are *specific* tasks of the class struggle, tasks which the proletariat formerly did not and could not have set itself.

The class of exploiters, the landowners and capitalists, has not disappeared and cannot disappear all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been smashed, but not destroyed. They still have an international base in the form of international capital, of which they are a branch. They still retain certain means of production in part, they still have money, they still have vast social connections. Because they have been defeated, the energy of their resistance has increased a hundred- and a thousandfold. The "art" of state, military and economic administration gives them a superiority, and a very great superiority, so that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical proportion of the population. The class struggle waged by the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, i.e., the proletariat, has become incomparably more bitter. And it cannot be otherwise in the case of a revolution, unless this concept is replaced (as it is by all the heroes of the Second International) by reformist illusions.

Lastly, the peasants, like the petty bourgeoisie in general, occupy a half-way, intermediate position *even* under the dictatorship of the proletariat: on the one hand, they are a fairly large (and in backward Russia, a vast) mass of working people, united by the common interest of all working people to emancipate themselves from the landowner and the capitalist; on the other hand, they are disunited small proprietors, property-owners and traders. Such an economic position inevitably causes them to vacillate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In view of the acute form which the struggle between these two classes has assumed, in view of the incredibly severe break-up of all social relations, and in view of the great attachment of the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie generally to the old, the routine, and the unchanging, it is only natural that we should inevitably find them swinging from one side to the other, that we should find them wavering, changeable, uncertain, and so on.

In relation to this class—or to these social elements—the proletariat must strive to establish its influence over it, to guide it. To give leadership to the vacillating and unstable—such is the task of the proletariat.

If we compare all the basic forces or classes and their interrelations, as modified by the dictatorship of the proletariat, we shall realise how unutterably nonsensical and theoretically stupid is the common petty-bourgeois idea shared by all representatives of the Second International, that the transition to socialism is possible "by means of democracy" in general. The fundamental source of this error lies in the prejudice inherited from the bourgeoisie that "democracy" is something absolute and above classes. As a matter of fact, democracy itself passes into an entirely new phase under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the class struggle rises to a higher level, dominating over each and every form.

General talk about freedom, equality and democracy is in fact but a blind repetition of concepts shaped by the relations of commodity production. To attempt to solve the concrete problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat by such generalities is tantamount to accepting the theories and principles of the bourgeoisie in their entirety.

From the point of view of the proletariat, the question can be put only in the following way: freedom from oppression by which class? equality of which class with which? democracy based on private property, or on a struggle for the abolition of private property?— and so forth.

Long ago Engels in his *Anti-Dühring* explained that the concept "equality" is moulded from the relations of commodity production; equality becomes a prejudice if it is not understood to mean the *abolition of classes*. This elementary truth regarding the distinction between the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist conception of equality is constantly being forgotten. But if it is not forgotten it becomes obvious that by overthrowing the bourgeoisie the proletariat takes the most decisive step towards the abolition of classes, and that in order to complete the process the proletariat must continue its class struggle, making use of the apparatus of state power and employing various methods of combating, influencing and bringing pressure to bear on the overthrown bourgeoisie and the vacillating petty bourgeoisie.

(*To be continued*)[44]

October 30, 1919

Pravda No. 250,
November 7, 1919
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to the manuscript

GREETINGS TO THE WORKERS OF PETROGRAD

The workers of Petrograd deserve the first message of greeting on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Soviet Republic. The Petrograd workers, as the vanguard of the revolutionary workers and soldiers, as the vanguard of the working people of Russia and the whole world, were the first to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and raise the banner of the proletarian revolution against capitalism and imperialism.

For two years the workers and labouring peasants of the Soviet Republic have triumphantly held high that banner despite all difficulties and all the torments of hunger, cold, chaos and economic ruin. Two years of socialist development have given us extensive experience, have enabled us to consolidate Soviet power despite the malicious fury and resistance of the bourgeoisie and the military attack by world imperialism.

On our side we have the sympathy of the world's workers. The proletarian revolution is maturing slowly and with difficulty, but persistently in all countries, and the brutal violence of the bourgeoisie only exacerbates the struggle, only hastens the victory of the proletariat.

Very recently the British reactionaries, the imperialists, made their last stake on the capture of Petrograd. The bourgeoisie of the entire world, especially the Russian bourgeoisie, already had a foretaste of victory. But instead of victory they met with defeat at Petrograd.

Yudenich's forces have been beaten and are retreating.

Comrades, workers and Red Army soldiers! Bend all your efforts! Keep on the heels of the retreating troops at all costs, crush them, do not allow them to rest for an hour,

for a single minute. At this moment we can and must strike harder than ever in order to finish off the enemy.

Long live the Red Army that is defeating the tsarist generals, whiteguards and capitalists! Long live the international Soviet Republic!

N. Lenin

November 5, 1919

Petrogradskaya Pravda No. 255, November 7, 1919

Published according to the manuscript

SOVIET POWER AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN

The second anniversary of Soviet power is an occasion for taking stock of what has been done during this period and for reflecting on the significance and the aims of the revolution that has been accomplished.

The bourgeoisie and its supporters charge us with having violated democracy. We, on the other hand, assert that the Soviet revolution has given an unprecedented impulse to the development of democracy in breadth and in depth, democracy, that is, for the working people oppressed by capitalism, democracy for the overwhelming majority of the people, socialist democracy (for the working people), as distinct from bourgeois democracy (for the exploiters, for the capitalists, for the rich).

Who is right?

To give proper thought to this question and achieve a deeper understanding of it one must take stock of the experience of these two years and make better preparations for further development.

The status of women makes clear in the most striking fashion the difference between bourgeois and socialist democracy and furnishes a most effective reply to the question posed.

In a bourgeois republic (i.e., where there is private ownership of land, factories, shares, etc.), be it the most democratic republic, women have never had rights fully equal to those of men, *anywhere in the world*, *in any one of the more advanced countries*. And this despite the fact that more than 125 years have passed since the great French (bourgeois-democratic) Revolution.

In words bourgeois democracy promises equality and freedom, but in practice *not a single* bourgeois republic, even the more advanced, has granted women (half the human race) and men complete equality in the eyes of the law, or delivered women from dependence on and the oppression of the male.

Bourgeois democracy is the democracy of pompous phrases, solemn words, lavish promises and high-sounding slogans about *freedom and equality*, but in practice all this cloaks the lack of freedom and the inequality of women, the lack of freedom and the inequality for the working and exploited people.

Soviet or socialist democracy sweeps away these pompous but false words and declares ruthless war on the hypocrisy of "democrats", landowners, capitalists and farmers with bursting bins who are piling up wealth by selling surplus grain to the starving workers at profiteering prices.

Down with this foul lie! There is no "equality", nor can there be, of oppressed and oppressor, exploited and exploiter. There is no real "freedom", nor can there be, so long as women are handicapped by men's legal privileges, so long as there is no freedom for the worker from the yoke of capital, no freedom for the labouring peasant from the yoke of the capitalist, landowner and merchant.

Let the liars and the hypocrites, the obtuse and the blind, the bourgeois and their supporters, try to deceive the people with talk about freedom in general, about equality in general and about democracy in general.

We say to the workers and peasants—tear the mask from these liars, open the eyes of the blind. Ask them:

Is there equality of the two sexes?

Which nation is the equal of which?

Which class is the equal of which?

Freedom from what yoke or from the yoke of which class? Freedom for which class?

He who speaks about politics, democracy and freedom, about equality, about socialism, *without posing* these questions, without giving them priority, who does not fight against hushing them up, concealing and blunting them, is the worst enemy of the working people, a wolf in sheep's clothing, the rabid opponent of the workers and

peasants, a lackey of the landowners, the tsars and the capitalists.

In the course of two years of Soviet power in one of the most backward countries of Europe more has been done to emancipate woman, to make her the equal of the "strong" sex, than has been done during the past 130 years by all the advanced, enlightened, "democratic" republics of the world taken together.

Education, culture, civilisation, freedom—all these high-sounding words are accompanied in all the capitalist, bourgeois republics of the world with incredibly foul, disgustingly vile, bestially crude laws that make women unequal in marriage and divorce, that make the child born out of wedlock and the "legally born" child unequal and that give privileges to the male and humiliate and degrade womankind.

The yoke of capital, the oppression of "sacred private property", the despotism of philistine obtuseness, the avarice of the small property-owner—these are the things that have prevented the most democratic bourgeois republics from abolishing these foul and filthy laws.

The Soviet Republic, the republic of workers and peasants, wiped out these laws at one stroke and did not leave standing a single stone of the edifice of bourgeois lies and bourgeois hypocrisy.

Down with this lie! Down with the liars who speak about freedom and equality *for all*, while there is an oppressed sex, oppressing classes, private ownership of capital and shares and people with bursting bins who use their surplus grain to enslave the hungry. Instead of freedom for all, instead of equality for all, let there be *struggle* against the oppressors and exploiters, *let the opportunity* to oppress and exploit *be abolished*. That is our slogan!

Freedom and equality for the oppressed sex!

Freedom and equality for the workers and labouring peasants!

Struggle against the oppressors, struggle against the capitalists, struggle against the kulak profiteers!

This is our fighting slogan, this is our proletarian truth, the truth of the fight against capital, the truth that we hurl in the face of the world of capital with its honeyed, hypo-

critical and pompous phrases about freedom and equality *in general*, about freedom and equality *for all*.

And it is because we have laid bare this hypocrisy, because, with revolutionary vigour, we are ensuring freedom and full rights for the oppressed working people, against the oppressors, against the capitalists, against the kulaks—precisely because of this Soviet rule has become so dear to the workers of the whole world.

It is because of this, the sympathies of the working masses, the sympathies of the oppressed and exploited in all countries of the world are with us on this occasion of the second anniversary of Soviet rule.

Because of this, on the occasion of the second anniversary of Soviet rule, despite the famine and cold, despite all the suffering caused by the imperialists' invasion of the Russian Soviet Republic, we are fully convinced of the justness of our cause, firmly convinced of the inevitable victory of Soviet power on a world scale.

Pravda No. 249,
November 6, 1919
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to
the *Pravda* text

TWO YEARS OF SOVIET POWER

The newspaper *Bednota*[45] is read mostly by peasants. On this, the second, anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power, I wish to extend greetings to the many millions of working peasants who have been liberated from landowner and capitalist oppression and say a few words about that liberation.

Soviet power, which overthrew the rule of capital and placed power in the hands of the working people, has to contend in Russia with unparalleled and incredible difficulties.

The landowners and capitalists of Russia, now joined by the landowners and capitalists of the whole world, are still making frenzied attempts to destroy Soviet power. They fear the example it has set; they fear that it will win the sympathy and support of workers the world over.

Conspiracies within the country, the bribing of the Czechoslovak forces, the landing of foreign troops in Siberia, Archangel, the Caucasus, South Russia and near Petrograd, the hundreds of millions of rubles being spent to help Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich and other tsarist generals—every conceivable method is being employed by the capitalists of all countries, who have accumulated millions and thousands of millions from war contracts, in an attempt to overthrow the Soviet government.

But all in vain. The Soviet government stands firm, overcoming all these unparalleled and incredible difficulties, despite the measureless suffering caused by war, blockade, famine, shortages, break-down of the transport system and general economic dislocation.

Soviet power in Russia has already won the support of the workers of the whole world. There is not a single country where the people do not talk of Bolshevism and Soviet power.

The capitalists talk of it with hatred and rabid malice, slandering and vilifying it without end. But this malice gives them away, and the mass of workers are turning their backs on the old leaders and coming out in support of Soviet power.

Despite the crushing, painful burden imposed by the enemy assault on Russia, Soviet power has triumphed throughout the world—triumphed in the sense that everywhere the sympathy of the working people is already on our side.

The victory of Soviet power throughout the world is assured. It is only a question of time.

Why is Soviet power so firm and stable, despite the incredible ordeals, the terrible famine and the difficulties created by war and economic dislocation?

Because it is the power of the working people themselves, of the millions of workers and peasants.

The workers hold state power. The workers help the millions of labouring peasants.

The Soviet government has overthrown the landowners and capitalists and is steadfastly defending the people against attempts to restore their rule.

The Soviet government gives all the aid it is capable of to the labouring peasants, *the poor and middle peasants*, who make up the vast majority.

The Soviet government holds a tight rein on the kulak, the village money-bag, the proprietor, the profiteer, on everyone who wants to get rich without having to work, everyone who battens on the misery and hunger of the people.

The Soviet government is *for* the labouring people, *against* the profiteers, proprietors, capitalists and landowners.

That is the source of the strength, stability and invincibility of Soviet power throughout the world.

Tens and hundreds of millions of workers and peasants all over the world are suffering oppression, humiliation and plunder at the hands of landowners and capitalists. The old state apparatus, whether of a monarchy or a "democratic"

(pseudo-democratic) republic, helps the exploiters and oppresses the workers.

Tens and hundreds of millions of workers and peasants in all lands know this; they see it and experience it in their everyday life.

The imperialist war lasted over four years, tens of millions were killed and crippled. What for? For the division of the capitalists' spoils, for markets, profits, colonies and the power of the banks.

The Anglo-French imperialist predators defeated the German imperialist predators. With every passing day they are exposing themselves for what they are—robbers and plunderers, oppressors of the working folk who batten on the misery of the people and tyrannise weak nations.

That is why support for Soviet power is growing among the workers and peasants of the world.

The severe and arduous struggle against capital was victoriously begun in Russia. It is now spreading in all countries.

It will end in the victory of the World Soviet Republic.

Bednota No. 478,
November 7, 1919
Signed: *Lenin*

Published according to
the *Bednota* text

TWO YEARS OF SOVIET RULE

**SPEECH AT A JOINT SESSION
OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES,
THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS,
AND FACTORY COMMITTEES, ON THE OCCASION
OF THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION
NOVEMBER 7, 1919**

Comrades, two years ago, when the imperialist war was still raging, it seemed to all the supporters of the bourgeoisie in Russia, to the masses of the people and, I dare say, to most of the workers in other countries, that the uprising of the Russian proletariat and their conquest of political power was a bold but hopeless enterprise. At that time world imperialism appeared such a tremendous and invincible force that it seemed stupid of the workers of a backward country to attempt to revolt against it. Now, however, as we glance back over the past two years, we see that even our opponents are increasingly admitting that we were right. We see that imperialism, which seemed such an insuperable colossus, has proved before the whole world to be a colossus with feet of clay, and the two years through which we have passed and during which we have had to fight, mark with ever-growing clarity the victory not only of the Russian, but also of the international proletariat.

Comrades, during the first year of the existence of Soviet power we had to experience the might of German imperialism, to suffer the coercive and predatory peace that was forced on us; we were alone in issuing our call to revolution, and met with no support or response. The first year of our

rule was also the first year of our struggle against imperialism, and we soon became convinced that the struggle of the different parts of this gigantic international imperialism was nothing but its death throes, and that both German imperialism and the imperialism of the Anglo-French bourgeoisie had an interest in this struggle. During that year we established that this struggle only strengthened, only increased and restored our forces and enabled us to direct them against imperialism as a whole. We created such a situation during the first year but, during the whole of the second year, we stood face to face with our enemy. There were pessimists who even last year severely attacked us; even last year they said that Britain, France and America were such a huge, such a colossal force that they would crush our country. The year has passed, and as you see, while the first year may be called that of the might of international imperialism, the second year will be called that of the onslaught of Anglo-American imperialism and of victory over that onslaught, of victory over Kolchak and Yudenich, and the beginning of victory over Denikin.

Now we know perfectly well that all the military forces sent against us have been directed from a definite source. We know that the imperialists have given them all the military supplies, all the arms needed; we know that they have handed over their global navies in part to our enemies, and now are doing all they can to help and build up forces both in the South of Russia and in Archangel. But we know perfectly well that all these seemingly huge and invincible forces of international imperialism are unreliable, and hold no terrors for us, that at the core they are rotten, that they are making us stronger and stronger, and that this added strength will enable us to win victory on the external front and to make it a thorough-going one. I shall not dwell on this point as it will be dealt with by Comrade Trotsky.

It seems to me that we must now try to draw general lessons from the two years of heroic constructive work.

What, in my opinion, is the most important conclusion to be drawn from the two years of developing the Soviet Republic, what, in my view, is most important for us, is the lesson we have had in organising working-class power. It seems to me that in this we must not confine ourselves

to the various concrete facts that concern the work of some commissariat and which most of you know of from your own experience. It seems to me that, in glancing back over what we have gone through, we must draw a general lesson from this work of construction, a lesson that we shall learn and carry further afield among working people. The lesson is that only workers' participation in the general administration of the state has enabled us to hold out amidst such incredible difficulties, and that only by following this path shall we achieve complete victory. Another lesson to be drawn is that we must maintain the right attitude to the peasantry, to the many millions of peasants, for that attitude alone has made it possible for us to carry on successfully amid all our difficulties, and it alone shows us the path along which we are achieving one success after another.

If you recall the past, if you recall the first steps of Soviet power, if you recall the entire work of developing all branches of the administration of the Republic, not excluding the military branch, you will see that the establishment of working-class rule two years ago, in October, was only the beginning. Actually, at that time, the machinery of state power was not yet in our hands, and if you glance back over the two years that have since elapsed you will agree with me that in each sphere—military, political and economic—we have had to win every position inch by inch, in order to establish real machinery of state power, sweeping aside those who before us had been at the head of the industrial workers and working people in general

It is particularly important for us to understand the development that has taken place in this period, because there is development along the same lines all over the world. The industrial workers and other working people do not take their first steps with their real leaders; the proletariat themselves are now taking over the administration of state, political power, and at their head we see everywhere leaders who are destroying the old prejudices of petty-bourgeois democracy, old prejudices the vehicles of which in our country are the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, and throughout Europe are the representatives

of bourgeois governments. Previously this was an exception, now it has become the general rule. Two years ago, in October, the bourgeois government in Russia—their alliance or coalition with the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries—was smashed, but we know how, in carrying on our work, we had subsequently to reorganise every branch of administration in such a way that genuine representatives, revolutionary workers, the vanguard of the proletariat, really took in hand the organisation of state power. That was in October, two years ago, when the work went on at terrific pressure, nevertheless we know, and we must say it, that this work is not finished even now. We know how those who formerly ran the state resisted us, how officials at first tried refusing to administrate, but this gross sabotage was stopped in a few weeks by the proletarian government. It showed that not the slightest impression could be made on it by such refusal, and after we had put an end to this gross sabotage this same enemy tried other methods.

Time and again it has happened that supporters of the bourgeoisie have been found even at the head of workers' organisations; we had to get down to the business of making the fullest use of the workers' strength. Take, for example, what we experienced when the railway administration, the railway proletariat were headed by people who led them along the bourgeois, and not the proletarian path.[46] We know that in all spheres wherever we could get rid of the bourgeoisie, we did so, but at what a price! In each sphere we gained ground inch by inch, and promoted the best of our workers, those who had gone through the hard school of organising the administration. Viewed from the side, all this is, perhaps, not very difficult, but actually, if you go into the matter, you will see with what difficulty the workers, who had been through all the stages of the struggle, asserted their rights, how they set things going—from workers' control to workers' management of industry, or how on the railways, beginning from the notorious Vikzhel,* they got an efficient organisation working; you will see

* Vikzhel—All-Russia Executive Committee of the Railwaymen's Trade Union.—*Ed.*

how representatives of the working class are gradually making their way into all our organisations and strengthening them by their activity. Take the co-operatives, for example, where we see huge numbers of workers' representatives. We know that formerly they consisted almost entirely of non-working-class people. Furthermore, in the old co-operatives, there were people steeped in the views and interests of the old bourgeois society. In this respect the workers had to wage a long struggle before they could take power into their own hands and subordinate the co-operatives to their interests, before they could carry on more fruitful work.

But our most important work has been the reorganisation of the old machinery of state, and although this has been a difficult job, over the last two years we have seen the results of the efforts of the working class and we can say that in this sphere we have thousands of working-class representatives who have been all through the fire of the struggle, forcing out the representatives of bourgeois rule step by step. We see workers not only in state bodies; we see them in the food supply services, in the sphere that was controlled almost exclusively by representatives of the old bourgeois government, of the old bourgeois state. The workers have created a food supply apparatus, and although a year ago we could not yet fully cope with the work, although a year ago workers made up only 30 per cent of it, we now have as many as 80 per cent workers in the food supply organisations. These simple and striking figures express the step taken by our country, and for us the important thing is that we have achieved great results in organising proletarian power after the political revolution.

Furthermore, the workers have done and are continuing to do the important job of producing proletarian leaders. Tens and hundreds of thousands of valiant workers are emerging from our midst and are going into battle against the whiteguard generals. Step by step we are gaining power from our enemy; formerly workers were not very skilful in this field, but we are now gradually winning area after area from our enemy, and there are no difficulties that can stop the proletariat. The proletariat is gaining in every sphere, gradually, one after another, despite all difficulties, and

is attracting representatives of the proletarian masses so that in every branch of administration, in every little unit, from top to bottom, representatives of the proletariat themselves go through the school of administration, and then train tens and hundreds of thousands of people capable of independently conducting all the affairs of state administration, of building the state by their own efforts.

Comrades ! Lately we have witnessed a particularly brilliant example of success in our work. We know how widespread subbotniks have become among class-conscious workers. We know those representatives of communism who most of all have suffered the torments of famine and bitter cold, but whose contribution in the rear is no smaller than that of the Red Army at the front; we know how, at the critical moment when the enemy was advancing on Petrograd, and Denikin took Orel, when the bourgeoisie were in high spirits and resorted to their last and favourite weapon, the spreading of panic, we announced a Party Week. At that moment the worker Communists went to the industrial workers and other working people, to those who most of all had endured the burden of the imperialist war and were starving and freezing, to those on whom the bourgeois panic-mongers counted most of all, to those who bore most of the burden on their backs; it was to them that we addressed ourselves during the Party Week and said: "You are scared by the burdens of working-class rule, by the threats of the imperialists and capitalists; you see our work and our difficulties; we appeal to you, and we open wide the doors of our Party only to you, only to the representatives of the working people. At this difficult moment we count on you and call you into our ranks there to undertake the whole burden of building the state." You know that it was a terribly difficult moment, both materially and because of the enemy's successes in foreign policy and in the military sphere. And you know what unparalleled, unexpected and unbelievable success marked the end of this Party Week in Moscow alone, where we got over 14 thousand new Party members. There you have the result of the Party Week that is totally transforming, that is remaking the working class, and by the experience of work is turning those who were the passive, inert instruments of the bourgeois

government, the exploiters, and the bourgeois state into real creators of the future communist society. We know that we have a reserve of tens and hundreds of thousands of working-class and peasant youths, those who saw and know to the full the old oppression of landowner and bourgeois society, who have seen the unparalleled difficulties of our constructive work, who saw what heroes the first contingent of Party functionaries proved to be in 1917 and 1918, who have been coming to us in bigger numbers and whose devotion is the greater the severer our difficulties. These reserves give us confidence that in these two years we have achieved a firm and sound cohesion and now possess a source from which we shall for a long time be able to draw still more extensively, and so ensure that the working people themselves undertake to develop the state. In this respect we have had such experience during these two years in applying working-class administration in all spheres, that we can say boldly and without any exaggeration that now all that remains is to continue what has been begun, and things will proceed as they have done these two years, but at an ever faster pace.

In another sphere, that of the relation of the working class to the peasantry, we have had far greater difficulties. Two years ago, in 1917, when power passed to the Soviets, the relation was still totally unclear. The peasantry as a whole had already turned against the landowners, and supported the working class, because it saw they were fulfilling the wishes of the peasant masses, that they were real working-class fighters, and not those who, in league with the landowners, had betrayed the peasantry. But we know perfectly well that a struggle was only just beginning within the peasantry. In the first year the urban proletariat still had no firm foothold in the countryside. This is to be seen with particular clarity in those border regions where the rule of the whiteguards was for a time consolidated. We saw it last summer, in 1918, when they won easy victories in the Urals. We saw that proletarian rule was not yet established in the countryside itself, and that it was not enough to introduce it from outside. What was needed was that the peasantry should, by their own experience, by their own organisational work, arrive at the same conclusions,

and although this work is immeasurably more difficult, slower and harder, it is incomparably more fruitful so far as results go. This is our main achievement of the second year of Soviet rule.

I shall not speak of the military significance of our victory over Kolchak, but I shall say that had the peasantry not undergone the experience of comparing the rule of the bourgeois dictators with that of the Bolsheviks, that victory would not have been won. Yet the dictators began with a coalition, with a Constituent Assembly; in that government apparatus there participated the same Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks whom we meet at every step in our work as the people of yesterday, as the people who built co-operatives, trade unions, teachers' organisations and a host of other organisations which we have to reorganise. Kolchak began in alliance with them, with individuals for whom the Kerensky experiment was not enough—they undertook a second. They did so in order to get the border regions, those farthest from the centre, to rise against the Bolsheviks. We could not give the peasants in Siberia what the revolution gave them in the rest of Russia. In Siberia the peasants did not get landed estates, because there were none of them there, and that was why it was easier for them to put faith in the whiteguards. All the forces of the Entente and the imperialist army which had suffered least of all in the war, i.e., the Japanese army, were drawn into the struggle. We know that hundreds of millions of rubles were expended on assisting Kolchak, that all means were employed to support him. Was there anything he lacked on his side? He had everything. Everything possessed by the strongest powers in the world, as well as a peasantry and a huge territory almost devoid of an industrial proletariat. What caused the destruction of all this? The fact that the experience of the workers, soldiers and peasants showed once again that the Bolsheviks were right in their forecasts, in their appraisal of the relation of social forces, when they said that the alliance of the workers and peasants is effected with difficulty, but that at any rate it is the only invincible alliance against the capitalists.

This is science, comrades, if one may use that term here. This experience is one of the greatest difficulty, one that takes account of everything and consolidates everything—it is the experience of communism; we can only establish communism if the peasantry arrive consciously at a definite conclusion. We can do this only when we enter into alliance with the peasants. We were able to convince ourselves of this by the Kolchak experience. The Kolchak revolt was an experience of great bloodshed, but that was no fault of ours.

You are now perfectly familiar with the second trouble that afflicts us; you know that famine and cold have affected our country more severely than any other. You know that the blame for this is thrown on communism, but you also know perfectly well that communism has nothing to do with it. In all countries we see increasing and growing famine and cold and soon everybody will be convinced that this situation in Russia is not the consequence of communism, but of four years of world-wide war. It is the war that has caused all the horror we are enduring, that has caused this famine and cold. But we believe that we shall soon emerge from this state of affairs. The whole problem is only that the workers must work, but work for themselves and not for those who for four years have been engaged in throat-cutting. As for the fight against famine and cold, it is going on everywhere. The most powerful states are now subject to this affliction.

We have had to resort to state requisitioning to collect grain from the many millions of our peasantry, and have done so not the way it was done by the capitalists, who operated along with the profiteers. In settling this problem we went with the workers, we went against the profiteers. We used the method of persuasion, we went to the peasantry and told them that all we were doing was in support of them and the workers. The peasant who has a grain surplus and delivers it to us at a fixed price, is our ally. The one, however, who does not do so is our enemy, is a criminal, is an exploiter and profiteer, and we can have nothing in common with him. We went with a message to the peasant, and this message has increasingly drawn the peasantry to our side. We have got quite definite results in this field. Between August and October of last year we procured 37

million poods of grain, but this year we have procured 45 million poods, and that without undertaking a special and careful check. An improvement, as you see, is taking place, a slow but undoubted one. And even if we reckon with the gaps made by Denikin's occupation of our fertile region, there are nevertheless signs of our being able to carry through our plan of procurement and plan of distribution at state prices. In this respect, too, our machinery has in a sense become established, and we are now taking the socialist path.

Now we are faced with the problem of a fuel crisis. The grain problem is no longer so acute; the position is that we have grain, but have no fuel. We have been deprived of our coal-field by Denikin. The loss of this coal-field has brought us unprecedented difficulties, and in this case we are doing just what we did in relation to grain. As we did previously we are again addressing ourselves to the workers. In the same way as we reorganised our food supply machinery, which, after being strengthened and set going, fulfilled quite a definite job that has yielded splendid results, so we are now improving our fuel supply machinery day by day. We are telling the workers from what direction this or that danger is advancing on us, in which direction and from what region we must send new forces, and we are confident that, just as we conquered our grain difficulties last year, so now we shall conquer our fuel difficulties.

Allow me for the moment to confine myself to this summary of our work. In conclusion, I shall take the liberty of saying just a few words about how our international situation is improving. We have examined the path we have followed, and the results show that our path has been the right and proper one. When we took power in 1917, we were alone. In 1917 it was said in all countries that Bolshevism could not take root. Now there is a powerful communist movement in those same countries. In the second year after we conquered power, six months after we founded the Third International, the Communist International, this International has in fact become the main force in the labour movement of all countries. In this respect the experience we have undergone has yielded the most splendid, unparalleled and rapid results, True, the movement to

freedom in Europe is not proceeding in the same way as in our country. But if you recall our two years of struggle, you will see that in the Ukraine too, and even in some parts of Russia proper, where the population was of a specific composition—for instance, in the Cossack and Siberian areas, or in the Urals—the movement to victory was not so rapid and did not follow the same road as in Petrograd and in Moscow, in the heart of Russia. Of course, we cannot be surprised at the slower pace of the movement in Europe, where pressure of jingoism and imperialism that has to be surmounted is greater; nonetheless the movement is proceeding unswervingly, along the very road being indicated by the Bolsheviks. Everywhere we are witnessing this forward movement. The mouthpieces of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries are yielding place everywhere to representatives of the Third International. The old leaders are falling, and the communist movement has risen everywhere, and that is why, after two years of Soviet rule, we can say, supported by the facts, we have every right to say, that not only on the scale of the Russian state, but also on an international scale we now have the following of all the politically conscious, all that are revolutionary among the masses, in the revolutionary world. And we can say that after what we have endured no difficulties hold any terrors for us, that we shall withstand all these difficulties, and then conquer them all. (*Stormy applause*.)

Pravda No. 251,
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the verbatim report,
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TO THE COMMUNISTS OF TURKESTAN[47]

Comrades, permit me to address you not as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Defence, but as a member of the Party.

It is no exaggeration to say that the establishment of proper relations with the peoples of Turkestan is now of immense, epochal importance for the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

The attitude of the Soviet Workers' and Peasants' Republic to the weak and hitherto oppressed nations is of very practical significance for the whole of Asia and for all the colonies of the world, for thousands and millions of people.

I earnestly urge you to devote the closest attention to this question, to exert every effort to set an effective example of comradely relations with the peoples of Turkestan, to demonstrate to them by your actions that we are sincere in our desire to wipe out all traces of Great-Russian imperialism and wage an implacable struggle against world imperialism, headed by British imperialism. You should show the greatest confidence in our Turkestan Commission and adhere strictly to its directives, which have been framed precisely in this spirit by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.

I would very much appreciate a reply to this letter indicating your attitude.

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

Turkestansky Kommunist, *Izvestia TsIK Sovetov Turkestanskoi Respubliki* and *Krasny Front* (jubilee edition), November 7-10, 1919

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THE FIGHT TO OVERCOME THE FUEL CRISIS

CIRCULAR LETTER TO PARTY ORGANISATIONS[48]

Comrades, to our Party, as the organised vanguard of the proletariat, has fallen the duty of uniting the working class in its struggle and of leading it in the fight for the victory of the workers' and peasants' Soviet power. We have carried on that fight triumphantly for two years and now know by what means we succeeded in overcoming the incredible difficulties placed in our way by the impoverishment of the country that resulted from four years of imperialist war and the resistance of all exploiters, Russian and international.

Comrades, the chief source of our strength is the class-consciousness and heroism of the workers, who had, and still have, the sympathies and support of the labouring peasants. Our victories were due to the direct appeal made by our Party and by the Soviet government to the working masses, with every new difficulty and problem pointed out as it arose; to our ability to explain to the masses why it was necessary to devote all energies first to one, then to another aspect of Soviet work at a given moment; to our ability to arouse the energy, heroism and enthusiasm of the masses and to concentrate every ounce of revolutionary effort on the most important task of the hour.

Comrades, at this juncture the most important task of the hour is the struggle to overcome the fuel crisis. We are finishing off Kolchak, we have vanquished Yudenich, we have begun a successful offensive against Denikin. We have considerably improved matters as regards the procurement and storage of grain. But the fuel crisis threatens

to disrupt all Soviet work: factory workers and office employees are abandoning their jobs to escape cold and hunger, trains carrying grain are brought to a standstill, and veritable disaster is impending precisely on account of the fuel shortage.

The fuel problem has become the central problem. The fuel crisis must be overcome at all costs, otherwise it will be impossible to solve the food problem, or the war problem, or the general economic problem.

And the fuel crisis can be overcome. For although we have lost the coal of the Donets Basin, and although we are not in a position rapidly to increase the output of coal in the Urals and Siberia, we still have plenty of forests and we can cut and deliver a sufficient quantity of wood.

The fuel crisis can be overcome. The thing now is to concentrate our main forces against what is (at present) our main enemy: the fuel shortage. We must arouse enthusiasm in the working masses and achieve a revolutionary harnessing of energies for the swiftest possible procurement and delivery of the largest possible quantity of fuel of every kind—coal, shale, peat, etc., and in the first place wood, wood and wood.

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party is confident that all Party organisations and all Party members, who in the past two years have demonstrated their capacity and ability to solve problems no less and even more difficult in a revolutionary way, will solve this problem too.

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party proposes in particular the following measures to all Party organisations:

1. All Party organisations must henceforth make the fuel problem and measures to combat the fuel crisis a permanent item on the agenda of Party meetings and especially meetings of Party committees. What more can be done, what must be done to combat the fuel crisis, how can the work be intensified, how can it be made more productive?—let these questions now occupy the attention of all Party organisations.

2. The same applies to all gubernia, city, uyezd and volost executive committees—in a word, to all leading

Soviet bodies. Party people must assume the initiative in strengthening, co-ordinating and intensifying the work on a country-wide scale.

3. The widest possible propaganda must be carried on everywhere, especially in the countryside, to explain what the fuel problem means to the Soviet state. In particular, local, parochial, narrow egoistical interests in the matter of fuel supplies must be combated. It must be explained that without devoted effort to meet the general need of the state it will be impossible to save the Soviet Republic, to uphold the power of the peasants and workers.

4. The most careful supervision must be exercised over the way the assignments of the Party and the instructions, demands and commissions of the Soviet government are carried out. New members of the Party who joined during the last Party Week should all be enlisted in the work of checking up on the way everyone is performing his duties.

5. Labour conscription for the whole population must be carried out, or certain age categories must be mobilised as quickly as possible and in the most imperative fashion for the work of procuring and carting coal and shale or cutting wood and carting it to the railway station. Fix labour quotas and see that they are carried out at all costs. Punish with ruthless severity those who despite repeated insistence, demands and orders are found to have shirked the work. Any lenience or weakness will be a crime against the revolution.

We have improved discipline in the army. We must also improve labour discipline.

6. Subbotniks must be arranged more frequently, energetically and systematically, and must be better organised, primarily for fuel work. Party members must set an example to all in labour discipline and energy. Decisions of the Council of People's Commissars, of the Council of Defence and of other central and also local Soviet bodies on the fuel question must be carried out conscientiously and scrupulously.

7. Local fuel bodies must be reinforced with the best of the Party workers. For this purpose the distribution of forces should be revised and appropriate changes made.

8. Comrades sent from the centre must be given the utmost assistance and the largest possible number of young people must be trained—and practically trained at that—in organising, arranging and maintaining fuel work. The local press must devote more attention to this work and must take pains to bring to public attention examples of really fine work and wage an implacable campaign against backwardness, lack of zeal or lack of ability displayed by any particular district, department or institution. Our press must become an instrument for bringing the backward into line and for inculcating industry, labour discipline and organisation.

9. The chief task of the food bodies must be to supply food and fodder for those engaged on fuel supply work. They must be given every assistance, their work must be intensified, and a check kept on the way it is carried out.

10. Indefatigable efforts must be made to ensure that in every fuel body (as in every Soviet institution generally) everyone is held *personally* responsible for a definite, strictly and precisely defined job or part of a job. Committee discussion must be reduced to an absolute minimum and never be allowed to interfere with swiftness and firmness of decision or minimise the responsibility of each and every worker.

11. The clerical work connected with fuel matters must be particularly prompt and accurate. The slightest tendency towards red tape must be punished ruthlessly. Reporting to the centre must be put on exemplary lines.

12. All fuel work in general must be organised in military fashion, with the energy, speed and strict discipline that is demanded in war. Without that we shall never overcome the fuel shortage. Without it we shall not escape from the crisis.

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party is confident that all comrades will bend every effort to carry out these instructions energetically and faithfully.

The fuel shortage must be fought and overcome!

Central Committee,
Russian Communist Party

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SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE ON PARTY WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE[49] NOVEMBER 18, 1919

Comrades, unfortunately I have not been able to take part in the conference you have arranged, that is, in this conference on work in the countryside. Hence I shall have to limit myself to some general, basic considerations, and I am certain that you will be able gradually to apply these general considerations and fundamental principles of our policy to the various tasks and practical questions that come up before you.

The question of our work in the countryside is now, strictly speaking, the basic question of socialist construction in general, for insofar as the work among the proletariat and the question of uniting its forces are concerned, we can safely say that during the two years of Soviet power communist policy has not only taken definite shape but has unquestionably achieved lasting results. At first we had to fight a lack of understanding of the common interests among the workers, to fight various manifestations of syndicalism when the workers of some factories or some branches of industry tended to place their own interests, the interests of their factory or industry, above the interests of society. We had to fight a lack of discipline in the new organisation of labour, and still have to. I believe you all remember the major stages through which our policy has passed, when, as we promoted more and more workers to new posts, we gave them an opportunity to familiarise

themselves with the tasks facing us, with the general mechanism of government. The organisation of the communist activity of the proletariat and the entire policy of the Communists have now acquired a final, lasting form; I am certain that we are on the right path and that progress along that path is fully ensured.

As regards work in the countryside, the difficulties here are undoubtedly great, and we gave this question full consideration at the Eighth Congress of the Party[50] as one of the most important issues. In the countryside as well as in the towns we can rely only on the working and exploited people, only on those who, under capitalism, bore the whole burden of the landowner and capitalist yoke. Since the time when the conquest of power by the workers abolished private property and enabled the peasants to sweep away the power of the landowners at one blow, they divided up the land and, of course, gave effect to the fullest equality and thus considerably improved the exploitation of the soil, raising it to a level above the average. It goes without saying, however, that we could not achieve everything we would have wished in this respect, for it would take tremendous funds to provide each with sufficient seed, livestock and implements as long as the land is tilled by individual peasants. Moreover, even if our industry were to achieve extraordinary progress and increase the production of agricultural machines, even if we were to imagine all our wishes fulfilled, it would still be obvious that to supply each small peasant with sufficient means of production is impossible and most irrational since it would mean a terrible fragmentation of resources; only joint, artel, co-operative labour can help us to emerge from the blind alley in which the imperialist war has driven us.

In the mass, the peasants, whose economic position under capitalism made them the most downtrodden, find it hardest of all to believe in the possibility of sharp changes and transitions. The peasant's experience of Kolchak, Yudenich, and Denikin compels him to show especial concern about his gains. All peasants know that the permanence of their gains is not finally guaranteed, that their enemy—the landowner—has not yet been destroyed, but has gone into hiding and is waiting for his friends, the international

capitalist brigands, to come to his aid. And although international capital is becoming weaker day by day and our international position has greatly improved in the recent period, if we soberly weigh all the circumstances, we have to admit that international capital is still undoubtedly stronger than we are. It no longer can openly wage war against us—its wings have already been clipped. Indeed, all these gentlemen in the European bourgeois press have latterly begun to say, "You are likely to get bogged down in Russia, perhaps it is better to make peace with her." That is the way it always is—when the enemy is beaten, he begins talking peace. Time and again we have told these gentlemen, the imperialists of Europe, that we agree to make peace, but they continued to dream of enslaving Russia. Now they realise that their dreams are not fated to come true.

The international millionaires and multimillionaires are still stronger than we are. And the peasants see perfectly well that the attempts to seize power by Yudenich, Kolchak, and Denikin were financed by the imperialists of Europe and America. And the mass of the peasants know very well what the slightest weakness will cost them. The vivid memory of the rule of the landowners and capitalists makes the peasants reliable supporters of Soviet power. With each passing month Soviet power becomes more stable and there is growing political consciousness among the peasants who formerly laboured and were exploited and who themselves experienced the full weight of the landowner and capitalist yoke.

Things, of course, are different with the kulaks, with those who hired workers, made money by usury, and enriched themselves at the expense of the labour of others. Most of these side with the capitalists and are opposed to the revolution that has taken place. We must clearly realise that we still have a long and stubborn fight to wage against this group of peasants. Between the peasants who shouldered the full load of the landowner and capitalist yoke and those who exploited others there is, however, a mass of middle peasants. Here lies our most difficult task. Socialists have always pointed out that the transition to socialism will raise this difficult problem—the attitude

of the working class to the middle peasantry. Here it is to be expected that Communists, more than anyone else, will show a serious understanding and intelligent approach to this complicated and difficult task, and will not try to solve it at one stroke.

The middle peasants are undoubtedly accustomed to farming each for himself. They are peasant proprietors, and although they have no land as yet, although private property in land has been abolished, they remain proprietors, primarily because this group of peasants remain in possession of food products. The middle peasant produces more food than he needs for himself, and since he has surplus grain he becomes the exploiter of the hungry worker. Herein lies the main task and the main contradiction. The peasant as a working man, as a man who lives by his own labour, as one who has borne the yoke of capitalism, sides with the worker. But the peasant as a proprietor with a surplus of grain is accustomed to regarding it as his property which he can sell freely. Anyone who sells grain surpluses in a hunger-ridden country becomes a profiteer, an exploiter, because the starving man will give everything he has for bread. It is here that the biggest and hardest battle has to be fought, a battle which demands of all of us representatives of Soviet power, and especially the Communists working in the countryside, the greatest attention and most serious thought to the issue in hand and the way to approach it.

We have always said that we do not seek to force socialism on the middle peasant, and the Eighth Party Congress fully confirmed this. The election of Comrade Kalinin as Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee was prompted by the need to build the closest of bonds between Soviet power and the peasantry. Thanks to Comrade Kalinin our work in the countryside has gained considerable momentum. The peasant is now undoubtedly in a position to keep in closer contact with the Soviet government through Comrade Kalinin, who represents the supreme authority of the Soviet Republic. In this way we said in effect to the middle peasant: "There can be no question of forcibly imposing socialism on anyone." But we must make him understand this, we must know how to tell him this in a language the peasant understands best of all. Here we must rely only

on the force of example, successfully organised socialised farming. To give an example of artel, co-operative labour we must first achieve success in organising such farming ourselves. In these past two years the movement to set up agricultural communes and co-operatives has acquired tremendous scope. Looking at things soberly, however, we must say that a great many of the comrades who tackled the organisation of communes started to farm without sufficient knowledge of the economic conditions of peasant life. Undue haste and wrong approach to the question led to a tremendous number of mistakes which have had to be rectified. Time and again the old exploiters, former landowners, wormed their way into state farms. They no longer dominate there, but they have not been eliminated. It is necessary either to squeeze them out or put them under the control of the proletariat.

This is a task that confronts us in all spheres of life. You have heard of the series of brilliant victories won by the Red Army. There are tens of thousands of old colonels and officers of other ranks in that army and if we had not accepted them in our service and made them serve us, we could not have created an army, And despite the treachery of some military specialists, we have defeated Kolchak and Yudenich, and are winning on all fronts. The reason for this is the existence of communist cells in the Red Army; they conduct propaganda and agitation carrying a tremendous impact, and thanks to them the small number of old officers find themselves in such an environment, under such a tremendous pressure from the Communists, that the majority of them are unable to break out of the communist organisation and propaganda with which we have surrounded them.

Communism cannot be built without knowledge, technique, and culture, and this knowledge is in possession of bourgeois specialists. Most of them do not sympathise with Soviet power, yet without them we cannot build communism. They must be surrounded with an atmosphere of comradeship, a spirit of communist work, and won over to the side of the workers' and peasants' government.

Among the peasants there have been frequent manifestations of extreme distrust and resentment of state farms,

even complete rejection of them; we do not want state farms, they say, for the old exploiters are to be found there. We have told them—if you are unable to organise farming along new lines yourselves, you have to employ the services of old specialists; otherwise there is no way out of poverty. We shall weed out old experts who violate the decisions of the Soviet government as ruthlessly as we do in the Red Army; the struggle goes on, and it is a struggle without mercy. But we shall force the majority of the experts to work as we want them to.

This is a difficult, complex task, a task that cannot be solved at one blow. Here conscious working-class discipline and closer contact with the peasants are needed. The peasants must be shown that we are not blind to any of the abuses on the state farms, but at the same time we tell them that scientists and technicians must be enlisted in the service of socialised farming, for small-scale farming will not bring deliverance from want. And we shall do what we are doing in the Red Army—we may be beaten a hundred times, but the hundred-and-first we defeat all our enemies. But to do this, work in the countryside must proceed by joint efforts, smoothly, in the same strict, orderly way as it has proceeded in the Red Army and as it is proceeding in other fields of economy. We shall slowly and steadily prove to the peasants the superiority of socialised farming.

This is the struggle we must wage on the state farms, this is where the difficulty of transition to socialism lies, and it is thus that Soviet power can be really and finally consolidated. When the majority of the middle peasants come to see that unless they ally themselves with the workers they are helping Kolchak and Yudenich, that in all the world only the capitalists remain with them—the capitalists who hate Soviet Russia and for years to come will repeat their attempts to restore their power—even the most backward middle peasants will realise that either they must forge ahead in alliance with the revolutionary workers toward complete emancipation or, if they vacillate even slightly, the enemy, the old capitalist exploiter, will gain the upper hand. Victory over Denikin is not enough to destroy the capitalists once and for all. This is something we all must realise. We know full well that they will try time and

again to throw the noose around Soviet Russia's neck. Hence the peasant has no choice; he must help the workers, for the slightest hesitation will bring victory to the landowners and capitalists. Our primary, basic task is to help the peasants understand this. The peasant who lives by his own labour is a loyal ally of Soviet power, and the worker regards such a peasant as his equal, the workers' government does everything it can for him, indeed there is no sacrifice the workers' and peasants' government is not ready to make to satisfy the needs of such a peasant.

But the peasant who makes use of the surplus grain he possesses to exploit others is our enemy. To satisfy the basic needs of a hungry country is a duty to the state. Yet far from all peasants realise that freedom to trade in grain is a crime against the state. "I have raised this grain, it is my product, and I have a right to do business with it," the peasant reasons out of habit, as he used to. But we say *this is a crime against the state*. Freedom to trade in grain means enriching oneself by means of this grain, i.e., a return to the old way of life, to capitalism, and this we shall not allow, this we shall fight against at all costs.

In the transition period we shall carry out state purchases of grain and requisition grain surpluses. We know that only in this way shall we be able to do away with want and hunger. The vast majority of the workers suffer hardship because of the incorrect distribution of grain; to distribute it properly, the peasants must deliver their quotas to the state as assessed, exactly, conscientiously, and without fail. Here Soviet power can make no concessions. This is not a matter of the workers' government fighting the peasants, but an issue involving the very existence of socialism, the existence of Soviet power. Today we cannot give the peasants any goods, because there is a shortage of fuel and railway traffic is being held up. We must start with the peasants lending the workers grain at fixed prices, not at profiteering prices, so that the workers can revive production. Every peasant will agree to this if it is a question of an individual worker dying from starvation before his eyes. But when millions of workers are in question, they do not understand this and the old habits of profiteering gain the upper hand.

Prolonged and persistent struggle against such habits, agitation and propaganda, explanatory work, checking up on what has been done—these are the components of our policy toward the peasantry.

We must render every support to the working peasant, treat him as an equal, without the slightest attempt to impose anything on him by force—that is our first task. Our second task is to wage an unswerving struggle against profiteering, huckstering, ruination.

When we began to build the Red Army, we had only separate, scattered groups of guerrillas to start with. Lack of discipline and unity resulted in many unnecessary sacrifices, but we overcame these difficulties and built up a Red Army millions strong in place of the guerrilla detachments. If we were able to do this in the brief period of two years, and in a sphere as difficult and hazardous as the army, we are all the more certain that we can achieve similar results in all spheres of economic endeavour.

I am certain that although this problem of the proper attitude of the workers to the peasantry and of the correct food policy is one of the most difficult, we shall solve it and win a victory in this field such as we have won at the front.

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ADDRESS TO THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST ORGANISATIONS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST[51] NOVEMBER 22, 1919

Comrades, I am very glad of the opportunity to greet this Congress of Communist comrades representing Moslem organisations of the East, and to say a few words about the situation now obtaining in Russia and throughout the world. The subject of my address is current affairs, and it seems to me that the most essential aspects of this question at present are the attitude of the peoples of the East to imperialism, and the revolutionary movement among those peoples. It is self-evident that this revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East can now develop effectively, can reach a successful issue, only in direct association with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet Republic against international imperialism. Owing to a number of circumstances, among them the backwardness of Russia and her vast area, and the fact that she constitutes a frontier between Europe and Asia, between the West and the East, we had to bear the whole brunt—and we regard that as a great honour—of being the pioneers of the world struggle against imperialism. Consequently, the whole course of development in the immediate future presages a still broader and more strenuous struggle against international imperialism, and will inevitably be linked with the struggle of the Soviet Republic against the forces of united imperialism—of Germany, France, Britain and the U.S.A.

As regards the military aspect of the matter, you know how favourable our situation now is on all the fronts. I shall not dwell in detail on this question; I shall only say that the Civil War which was forced upon us by international imperialism has in two years inflicted incalculable hardship upon the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, and imposed upon the peasants and workers a burden so intolerable that it often seemed they would not be able to endure it. But at the same time, because of its brute violence, because of the ruthlessly brutal onslaught of our so-called allies, turned wild beasts, who robbed us even before the socialist revolution, this war has performed a miracle and turned people weary of fighting and seemingly incapable of bearing another war into warriors who have not only withstood the war for two years but are bringing it to a victorious end. The victories we are now gaining over Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin signify the advent of a new phase in the history of the struggle of world imperialism against the countries and nations which have risen up to fight for their emancipation. In this respect, the two years of our Civil War have fully confirmed what has long been known to history—that the character of a war and its success depend chiefly upon the internal regime of the country that goes to war, that war is a reflection of the internal policy conducted by the given country before the war. All this is inevitably reflected in the prosecution of a war.

Which class waged the war, and is continuing to wage it, is a very important question. Only due to our Civil War being waged by workers and peasants who have emancipated themselves, and to its being a continuation of the political struggle for the emancipation of the working people from the capitalists of their own country and of the whole world—only thanks to this were people to be found in such a backward country as Russia, worn out as she was by four years of imperialist war, who were strong-willed enough to carry on that war during two years of incredible and unparalleled hardship and difficulty.

This was very strikingly illustrated in the history of the Civil War in the case of Kolchak. Kolchak was an enemy who had the assistance of all the world's strongest powers; he had a railway which was protected by some hundred

thousand foreign troops, including the finest troops of the world imperialists, such as the Japanese, for example, who had been trained for the imperialist war, but took practically no part in it and therefore suffered little; Kolchak had the backing of the Siberian peasants, who were the most prosperous and had never known serfdom, and therefore, naturally, were farthest of all from communism. It seemed that Kolchak was an invincible force, because his troops were the advance guard of international imperialism. To this day, Japanese and Czechoslovak troops and the troops of a number of other imperialist nations are operating in Siberia. Nevertheless, the more than a year's experience of Kolchak's rule over Siberia and her vast natural resources, which was at first supported by the socialist parties of the Second International, by the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who set up the Constituent Assembly Committee front, and which therefore, under these conditions, from the standpoint of the man in the street and of the ordinary course of history, appeared to be firm and invincible—that experience actually revealed the following. The farther Kolchak advanced into the heart of Russia, the more he wore himself out, and in the end we have witnessed Soviet Russia's complete triumph over Kolchak. Here we undoubtedly have practical proof that the united forces of workers and peasants who have been emancipated from the capitalist yoke can perform real miracles. Here we have practical proof that when a revolutionary war really does attract and interest the working and oppressed people, when it makes them conscious that they are fighting the exploiters—such a revolutionary war engenders the strength and ability to perform miracles.

I think that what the Red Army has accomplished, its struggle, and the history of its victory, will be of colossal, epochal significance for all the peoples of the East. It will show them that, weak as they may be, and invincible as may seem the power of the European oppressors, who in the struggle employ all the marvels of technology and of the military art—nevertheless, a revolutionary war waged by oppressed peoples, if it really succeeds in arousing the millions of working and exploited people, harbours such potentialities, such miracles, that the emancipation of the peoples

of the East is now quite practicable, from the standpoint not only of the prospects of the international revolution, but also of the direct military experience acquired in Asia, in Siberia, the experience of the Soviet Republic, which has suffered the armed invasion of all the powerful imperialist countries.

Furthermore, the experience of the Civil War in Russia has shown us and the Communists of all countries that, in the crucible of civil war, the development of revolutionary enthusiasm is accompanied by a powerful inner cohesion. War tests all the economic and organisational forces of a nation. In the final analysis, infinitely hard as the war has been for the workers and peasants, who are suffering famine and cold, it may be said on the basis of these two years' experience that we are winning and will continue to win, because we have a hinterland, and a strong one, because, despite famine and cold, the peasants and workers stand together, have grown strong, and answer every heavy blow with a greater cohesion of their forces and increased economic might. And it is this alone that has made possible the victories over Kolchak, Yudenich and their allies, the strongest powers in the world. The past two years have shown, on the one hand, that a revolutionary war can be developed, and, on the other, that the Soviet system is growing stronger under the heavy blows of the foreign invasion, the aim of which is to destroy quickly the revolutionary centre, the republic of workers and peasants who have dared to declare war on international imperialism. But instead of destroying the workers and peasants of Russia, these heavy blows have served to harden them.

That is the chief lesson, the chief content of the present period. We are on the eve of decisive victories over Denikin, the last enemy left on our soil. We feel strong and may reiterate a thousand times over that we are not mistaken when we say that internally the Republic has become consolidated, and that we shall emerge from the war against Denikin very much stronger and better prepared for the task of erecting the socialist edifice—to which we have been able to devote all too little time and energy during the Civil War, but to which, now that we are setting foot on a free road, we shall undoubtedly be able to devote ourselves entirely.

In Western Europe we see the decay of imperialism. You know that a year ago it seemed even to the German socialists, and to the vast majority of socialists—who did not understand the state of affairs—that what was in progress was a struggle of two world imperialist groups, and they believed that this struggle constituted the whole of history, that there was no force capable of producing anything else. It seemed to them that even socialists had no alternative but to join sides with one of the groups of powerful world predators. That is how it seemed at the close of October 1918. But we find that in the year that has since elapsed world history has witnessed unparalleled events, profound and far-reaching events, and these have opened the eyes of many socialists who during the imperialist war were patriots and justified their conduct on the plea that they were faced with an enemy; they justified their alliance with the British and French imperialists on the grounds that these were supposedly bringing delivery from German imperialism. See how many illusions were shattered by that war! We are witnessing the decay of German imperialism, a decay which has led not only to a republican, but even to a socialist revolution. You know that in Germany today the class struggle has become still more acute and that civil war is drawing nearer and nearer—a war of the German proletariat against the German imperialists, who have adopted republican colours, but who remain imperialists.

Everyone knows that the social revolution is maturing in Western Europe by leaps and bounds, and that the same thing is happening in America and in Britain, the countries ostensibly representing culture and civilisation, victors over the Huns, the German imperialists. Yet when it came to the Treaty of Versailles, everyone saw that it was a hundred times more rapacious than the Treaty of Brest which the German robbers forced upon us, and that it was the heaviest blow the capitalists and imperialists of those luckless victor countries could possibly have struck at themselves. The Treaty of Versailles opened the eyes of the people of the victor nations, and showed that in the case of Britain and France, even though they are democratic states, we have before us not representatives of culture and civilisation, but countries ruled by imperialist predators.

The internal struggle among these predators is developing so swiftly that we may rejoice in the knowledge that the Treaty of Versailles is only a seeming victory for the jubilant imperialists, and that in reality it signifies the bankruptcy of the entire imperialist world and the resolute abandonment by the working people of those socialists who during the war allied themselves with the representatives of decaying imperialism and defended one of the groups of belligerent predators. The eyes of the working people have been opened because the Treaty of Versailles was a rapacious peace and showed that France and Britain had actually fought Germany in order to strengthen their rule over the colonies and to enhance their imperialist might. That internal struggle grows broader as time goes on. Today I saw a wireless message from London dated November 21, in which American journalists—men who cannot be suspected of sympathising with revolutionaries—say that in France an unprecedented outburst of hatred towards the Americans is to be observed, because the Americans refuse to ratify the Treaty of Versailles.

Britain and France are victors, but they are up to their ears in debt to America, who has decided that the French and the British may consider themselves victors as much as they like, but that she is going to skim the cream and exact usurious interest for her assistance during the war; and the guarantee of this is to be the American Navy which is now being built and is overtaking the British Navy in size. And the crudeness of the Americans' rapacious imperialism may be seen from the fact that American agents are buying white slaves, women and girls, and shipping them to America for the development of prostitution. Just think, free, cultured America supplying white slaves for brothels! Conflicts with American agents are occurring in Poland and Belgium. That is a tiny illustration of what is taking place on a vast scale in every little country which received assistance from the Entente. Take Poland, for instance. You find American agents and profiteers going there and buying up all the wealth of Poland, who boasts that she is now an independent power. Poland is being bought up by American agents. There is not a factory or branch of industry which is not in the pockets of the Americans. The Americans have become so brazen that they are beginning to enslave that "great and

free victor", France, who was formerly a country of usurers, but is now deep in debt to America, because she has lost her economic strength, and has not enough grain or coal of her own and cannot develop her material resources on a large scale, while America insists that the tribute be paid unreservedly and in full. It is thus becoming increasingly apparent that France, Britain and other powerful countries are economically bankrupt. In the French elections the Clericals have gained the upper hand. The French people, who were deceived into devoting all their strength supposedly to the defence of freedom and democracy against Germany, have now been rewarded with an interminable debt, with the sneers of the rapacious American imperialists and, on top of it, with a Clerical majority consisting of representatives of the most savage reaction.

The situation all over the world has become immeasurably more complicated. Our victory over Kolchak and Yudenich, those lackeys of international capital, is a big one; but far bigger, though not so evident, is the victory we are gaining on an international scale. That victory consists in the internal decay of imperialism, which is unable to send its troops against us. The Entente tried it, but to no purpose, because its troops become demoralised when they contact our troops and acquaint themselves with our Russian Soviet Constitution, translated into their languages. Despite the influence of the leaders of putrid socialism, our Constitution will always win the sympathy of the working people. The word "Soviet" is now understood by everybody, and the Soviet Constitution has been translated into all languages and is known to every worker. He knows that it is the constitution of working people, the political system of working people who are calling for victory over international capital, that it is a triumph we have achieved over the international imperialists. This victory of ours has had its repercussions in all imperialist countries, since we have deprived them of their own troops, won them over, deprived them of the possibility of using those troops against Soviet Russia.

They tried to wage war with the troops of other countries—Finland, Poland, and Latvia—but nothing came of it. British Minister Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons several weeks ago, boasted—and it was cabled all

over the world—that a campaign of fourteen nations against Soviet Russia had been organised, and that this would result in victory over Russia by the New Year. And it is true that many nations participated in it—Finland, the Ukraine, Poland, Georgia, as well as the Czechoslovaks, the Japanese, the French, the British, and the Germans. But we know what came of it! We know that the Estonians left Yudenich's forces in the lurch; and now a fierce controversy is going on in the press because the Estonians do not want to help him, while Finland, much as her bourgeoisie wanted it, has not assisted Yudenich either. Thus the second attempt to attack us has likewise failed. The first stage was the dispatch by the Entente of its own troops, equipped according to all the rules of military technique, so that it seemed they would defeat the Soviet Republic. They have already withdrawn from the Caucasus, Archangel and the Crimea; they still remain in Murmansk, as the Czechoslovaks do in Siberia, but only as isolated groups. The first attempt of the Entente to defeat us with its own forces ended in victory for us. The second attempt consisted in launching against us nations which are our neighbours, and which are entirely dependent financially on the Entente, and in trying to force them to crush us, as a nest of socialism. But that attempt, too, ended in failure: it turned out that not one of these little countries is capable of waging such a war. What is more, hatred of the Entente has taken firm root in every little country. If Finland did not set out to capture Petrograd when Yudenich had already captured Krasnoye Selo, it was because she hesitated, realising that she could live independently side by side with Soviet Russia, but could not live in peace with the Entente. All little nations have felt that. It is felt in Finland, Lithuania, Estonia, and Poland, where chauvinism is rampant, but where there is hatred of the Entente, which is expanding its exploitation in those countries. And now, accurately assessing the course of developments, we may say without exaggeration that not only the first, but also the second stage of the international war against the Soviet Republic has failed. All that remains for us to do now is to defeat Denikin's forces, and they are already half-defeated.

Such is the present Russian and international situation which I have summarised briefly in my address. Permit me

in conclusion, to say something about the situation that is developing in respect of the nationalities of the East. You are representatives of the communist organisations and Communist Parties of various Eastern peoples. I must say that the Russian Bolsheviks have succeeded in forcing a breach in the old imperialism, in undertaking the exceedingly difficult, but also exceedingly noble task of blazing new paths of revolution, whereas you, the representatives of the working people of the East, have before you a task that is still greater and newer. It is becoming quite clear that the socialist revolution which is impending for the whole world will not be merely the victory of the proletariat of each country over its own bourgeoisie. That would be possible if revolutions came easily and swiftly. We know that the imperialists will not allow this, that all countries are armed against their domestic Bolshevism and that their one thought is how to defeat Bolshevism at home. That is why in every country a civil war is brewing in which the old socialist compromisers are enlisted on the side of the bourgeoisie. Hence, the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism. Characterising the approach of the world social revolution in the Party Programme we adopted last March, we said that the civil war of the working people against the imperialists and exploiters in all the advanced countries is beginning to be combined with national wars against international imperialism. That is confirmed by the course of the revolution, and will be more and more confirmed as time goes on. It will be the same in the East.

We know that in the East the masses will rise as independent participants, as builders of a new life, because hundreds of millions of the people belong to dependent, underprivileged nations, which until now have been objects of international imperialist policy, and have only existed as material to fertilise capitalist culture and civilisation. And when they talk of handing out mandates for colonies, we know very well that it means handing out mandates for spoliation and plunder—handing out to an insignificant

section of the world's population the right to exploit the majority of the population of the globe. That majority, which up till then had been completely outside the orbit of historical progress, because it could not constitute an independent revolutionary force, ceased, as we know, to play such a passive role at the beginning of the twentieth century. We know that 1905 was followed by revolutions in Turkey, Persia and China, and that a revolutionary movement developed in India. The imperialist war likewise contributed to the growth of the revolutionary movement, because the European imperialists had to enlist whole colonial regiments in their struggle. The imperialist war aroused the East also and drew its peoples into international politics. Britain and France armed colonial peoples and helped them to familiarise themselves with military technique and up-to-date machines. That knowledge they will use against the imperialist gentry. The period of the awakening of the East in the contemporary revolution is being succeeded by a period in which all the Eastern peoples will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply objects of the enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are becoming alive to the need for practical action, the need for every nation to take part in shaping the destiny of all mankind.

That is why I think that in the history of the development of the world revolution—which, judging by its beginning, will continue for many years and will demand much effort—that in the revolutionary struggle, in the revolutionary movement you will be called upon to play a big part and to merge with our struggle against international imperialism. Your participation in the international revolution will confront you with a complicated and difficult task, the accomplishment of which will serve as the foundation for our common success, because here the majority of the people for the first time begin to act independently and will be an active factor in the fight to overthrow international imperialism.

Most of the Eastern peoples are in a worse position than the most backward country in Europe—Russia. But in our struggle against feudal survivals and capitalism, we succeeded in uniting the peasants and workers of Russia;

and it was because the peasants and workers united against capitalism and feudalism that our victory was so easy. Here contact with the peoples of the East is particularly important, because the majority of the Eastern peoples are typical representatives of the working people—not workers who have passed through the school of capitalist factories, but typical representatives of the working and exploited peasant masses who are victims of medieval oppression. The Russian revolution showed how the proletarians, after defeating capitalism and uniting with the vast diffuse mass of working peasants, rose up victoriously against medieval oppression. Our Soviet Republic must now muster all the awakening peoples of the East and, together with them, wage a struggle against international imperialism.

In this respect you are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the Communists of the world: relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism. That is a difficult and specific task, but a very thankful one, because masses that have taken no part in the struggle up to now are being drawn into it, and also because the organisation of communist cells in the East gives you an opportunity to maintain the closest contact with the Third International. You must find specific forms for this alliance of the foremost proletarians of the world with the labouring and exploited masses of the East whose conditions are in many cases medieval. We have accomplished on a small scale in our country what you will do on a big scale and in big countries. And that latter task you will, I hope, perform with success. Thanks to the communist organisations in the East, of which you here are the representatives, you have contact with the advanced revolutionary proletariat. Your task is to continue to ensure that communist propaganda is carried on in every country in a language the people understand.

It is self-evident that final victory can be won only by the proletariat of all the advanced countries of the world,

and we, the Russians, are beginning the work which the British, French or German proletariat will consolidate. But we see that they will not be victorious without the aid of the working people of all the oppressed colonial nations, first and foremost, of Eastern nations. We must realise that the transition to communism cannot be accomplished by the vanguard alone. The task is to arouse the working masses to revolutionary activity, to independent action and to organisation, regardless of the level they have reached; to translate the true communist doctrine, which was intended for the Communists of the more advanced countries, into the language of every people; to carry out those practical tasks which must be carried out immediately, and to join the proletarians of other countries in a common struggle.

Such are the problems whose solution you will not find in any communist book, but will find in the common struggle begun by Russia. You will have to tackle that problem and solve it through your own independent experience. In that you will be assisted, on the one hand, by close alliance with the vanguard of the working people of other countries, and, on the other, by ability to find the right approach to the peoples of the East whom you here represent. You will have to base yourselves on the bourgeois nationalism which is awakening, and must awaken, among those peoples, and which has its historical justification. At the same time, you must find your way to the working and exploited masses of every country and tell them in a language they understand that their only hope of emancipation lies in the victory of the international revolution, and that the international proletariat is the only ally of all the hundreds of millions of the working and exploited peoples of the East.

Such is the immense task which confronts you, and which, thanks to the era of revolution and the growth of the revolutionary movement—of that there can be no doubt—will, by the joint efforts of the communist organisations of the East, be successfully accomplished and crowned by complete victory over international imperialism.

Bulletin of the C.C., *R.C.P.*(*B.*) No. 9, December 20, 1919

Published according to the text of the *Bulletin of the C.C.*, *R.C.P.*(*B.*)

DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON SOVIET RULE IN THE UKRAINE[52]

(1) The C.C., R.C.P.(B.), having discussed the question of relations with the working people of the Ukraine now being liberated from the temporary conquest of Denikin's bands, is pursuing persistently the principle of the self-determination of nations and deems it essential to again affirm that the R.C.P. holds consistently to the view that the independence of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic be recognised.

(2) The R.C.P. will work to establish federal relations between the R.S.F.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R., basing itself on the decisions of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of June 1, 1919, and the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee of May 18, 1919[53] (resolution attached).

(3) In view of the fact that Ukrainian culture (language, school, etc.) has been suppressed for centuries by Russian tsarism and the exploiting classes, the C.C., R.C.P. makes it incumbent upon all Party members to use every means to help remove all barriers in the way of the free development of the Ukrainian language and culture. Since the many centuries of oppression have given rise to nationalist tendencies among the backward sections of the population, R.C.P. members must exercise the greatest caution in respect of those tendencies and must oppose them with words of comradely explanation concerning the identity of interests of the working people of the Ukraine and Russia. R.C.P. members on Ukrainian territory must put into practice the right of the working people to study in the Ukrainian language and to speak their native language in all Soviet institutions; they

must in every way counteract attempts at Russification that push the Ukrainian language into the background and must convert that language into an instrument for the communist education of the working people. Steps must be taken immediately to ensure that in all Soviet institutions there are sufficient Ukrainian-speaking employees and that in future all employees are able to speak Ukrainian.

(4) It is essential to ensure the closest contact between Soviet institutions and the native peasant population of the country, for which purpose it must be made the rule, even at the earliest stages, that when revolutionary committees and Soviets are being established the labouring peasants must have a majority in them with the poor peasants exercising a decisive influence.

(5) Since the population of the Ukraine is predominantly peasant to an even greater extent than that of Russia, it is the task of the Soviet government in the Ukraine to win the confidence, not only of the poor peasants, but also of the broad sections of the middle peasantry whose real interests link them very closely with Soviet power. In particular, while retaining the food policy in principle (the state procurement of grain at fixed prices) the methods of its application must be changed.

The immediate purpose of the food policy in the Ukraine must be the requisitioning of grain surpluses to the strictly limited extent necessary to supply the Ukrainian rural poor, the workers and the Red Army. When requisitioning surpluses, special attention must be paid to the interests of the middle peasants, who must be carefully distinguished from kulak elements. It is essential to expose to the Ukrainian peasantry the counter-revolutionary demagogy that tries to impress on them that the purpose of Soviet Russia is to channel grain and other food products from the Ukraine into Russia.

It must be made incumbent on all agents of the central authorities, all Party officials, Party instructors, etc, to draw the poor and middle peasantry extensively into the work of government.

For the same purpose (the establishment of the real power of the working people) measures must be immediately taken to prevent Soviet institutions from being flooded

with Ukrainian urban petty bourgeoisie, who have no conception of the living conditions of the peasant masses and who frequently masquerade as Communists.

A condition for the admission of such elements into the ranks of the Party and into Soviet institutions must be a preliminary practical verification of their competence and their loyalty to the interests of the working people, primarily at the front, in the ranks of the army. Everywhere and under all circumstances such elements must be placed under the strict class control of the proletariat.

We know from experience that due to the unorganised state of the poor the large number of weapons in the hands of the Ukrainian rural population is inevitably being concentrated in the hands of the kulaks and counter-revolutionaries which actually leads to the domination of kulak bandits instead of the dictatorship of the working people; in view of this a primary task in organising Soviet Ukraine is to withdraw all weapons and concentrate them in the hands of the workers' and peasants' Red Army.

(6) In the same way, the land policy must be effected with special attention paid to the farming of the poor and middle peasantry.

The tasks of the land policy in the Ukraine are:

(1) The complete abolition of the landed proprietorship re-established by Denikin and the transfer of the landed estates to peasants possessing little or no land.

(2) State farms to be organised in strictly limited numbers and of limited size and in each case in conformity with the interests of the surrounding peasantry.

(3) In organising peasants in communes, artels, etc., the Party policy must be strictly adhered to, which in this respect does not permit any coercion, leaving it to the peasants to decide freely for themselves and penalising all attempts to introduce the principle of coercion.

* * *

2. Regarding it as beyond dispute for every Communist and for every politically-conscious worker that the closest alliance of all Soviet republics in their struggle against

the menacing forces of world imperialism is essential, the R.C.P. maintains that the form of that alliance must be finally determined by the Ukrainian workers and labouring peasants themselves.

Written November 1919

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EIGHTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.)[54]

DECEMBER 2-4, 1919

EIGHTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.)[54]

DECEMBER 2-4, 1919

1

SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE DECEMBER 2

Comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) I declare the All-Russia Party Conference open.

Comrades, according to Party Rules this type of conference should be convened every three months, but the difficult situation obtaining a few months ago in connection with the war forced us to bend our efforts and to reduce all bodies, both government and Party, to such an extent that we were unfortunately unable to carry out the Rules to the letter and the conference was postponed.

Comrades, we are calling this conference in connection with the Congress of Soviets[55] at a time when we have succeeded in achieving a tremendous improvement on the fronts, and when we are certain that we are on the eve of a gigantic change for the better in the international situation, in respect of the war and in respect of our internal development. The tasks that are unfolding before us have been frequently discussed at Party meetings and in the press, and we shall return to them when discussing definite individual items on the agenda. I shall, therefore, get right down to business and propose that you elect a presidium for the conference.

Let me have your proposals on that point, please.

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the verbatim report,
verified with the *Izvestia* text

2

POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECEMBER 2

(*Applause.*) Comrades, the present report of the Central Committee should, from the formal point of view, give you mainly a summary of experience acquired during the period under review. I must say that such an approach—confining oneself to history or, at any rate, making a report that turns mainly on history—is too far removed from the spirit of the times in which we live and from the tasks that confront us. In the present report, which I should also like to present to the Congress of Soviets, I intend to transfer the centre of gravity more to the lessons we are receiving, and which we must receive for our immediate practical activity, rather than to a description of what we have passed through.

Although we may say, without any exaggeration, that in the period under review we have achieved tremendous successes, although our main difficulty is now behind us, we still have ahead of us difficulties that are without doubt very, very great. The Party must naturally concentrate its attention wholly on the solution of those problems and may permit itself excursions into history only insofar as it is absolutely necessary for the solution of the problems facing us.

It stands to reason that in the past period of Soviet power the war question has persistently been the one on which we have mostly fixed our attention. The Civil War has involved everyone and everything, of course, and it goes without saying that in our struggle for existence we had to divert the Party's best forces from other work and other

activities and use them for war work. It was all we could do under war conditions. And no matter how much we have suffered from this withdrawal of creative forces from many spheres of government and Party activity, in the military sphere we have actually managed to effect a concentration of forces and achieve excellent results such as not only our enemies, not only the waverers, but probably even most of our own milieu would formerly have considered impossible. To hold out for two years against all our enemies who were supported directly and indirectly, first by German imperialism and then by the much more powerful Entente imperialism that has mastered the whole world—to hold out for two years in a country so badly ruined and so backward was such a problem that its solution was an undoubted "miracle". It seems to me, therefore, that we must look closely to see how this "miracle" was effected and what practical deductions are to be made from it, deductions which will enable us to say conclusively—and I think we may say conclusively—that great as the difficulties of internal organisation are we shall surmount them in the near future with a success equal to that with which we have solved the problems of military defence.

World imperialism, that in reality brought about the Civil War in our country and is responsible for protracting it, has suffered defeat in these two years, and we must first of all ask ourselves the question, how could it have happened that we were able to achieve such tremendous success in the struggle against world imperialism that even today is undoubtedly many times stronger than we are? To find an answer to this question we must make a general review of the history of the Civil War in Russia, the history of Entente intervention. In this war we must distinguish two periods that differ radically according to the methods of Entente activity employed, two periods or two basic methods of conducting military operations against Russia.

When the Entente had defeated Germany, at first it naturally relied on its own troops to crush the Soviet Republic in Russia. It stands to reason that if the Entente had used but a fraction of the gigantic armies that were released after the defeat of Germany, if it had been able to use even one-tenth of those armies in a proper manner against

the Russian Soviet Republic we should not, of course, have been able to hold out. It is typical of the first period of the Civil War in Russia that the attempt of the Entente to smash the Soviet Republic using its own troops was a failure. The Entente had to withdraw the British troops operating on the Archangel Front. The landing of French forces in the South of Russia ended in a number of mutinies on the part of French sailors, and today, no matter how frantically the war-time censor may operate—there is no war but the former war-time censor, now the non-war-time censor, continues to function in the supposedly free countries, Britain and France—and although copies of newspapers reach us on rare occasions we have very precise documentary evidence from Britain and France to the effect that information concerning, for instance, the mutiny of the sailors on French warships in the Black Sea has got into the French press, that the sentencing of several French sailors to penal servitude has become known in France, that the entire communist, the entire revolutionary working-class press in France and Britain refers to the facts; the name of Comrade Jeanne Labourbe, whom the French shot in Odessa for Bolshevik propaganda, has become a slogan for the French working-class socialist press, not only for the Communist wing, but even for a newspaper like *l'Humanité*[56] that in its basic principles is actually closer to the point of view of our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, even for that newspaper the name of Labourbe has become a slogan of struggle against French imperialism, for non-intervention in Russian affairs. In the same way letters from British soldiers on the Archangel Front have been discussed in the British working-class press. We have very exact documentary evidence of this. It is quite obvious to us, therefore, that the tremendous change that formerly we always spoke of and which we so deeply hoped for has taken place; it has undoubtedly become a fact even though the process is an unusually slow one.

This change had to be evoked by the very course of events. It is specifically those countries that always have been and still are regarded as the most democratic, civilised and cultured that conducted a war against Russia by the most brutal means, without even a shade of legality. The Bolsheviks

are accused of violating democracy—this is the most popular argument against us among the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and in the entire European bourgeois press. But not one of those democratic states has taken or would dare to take the risk under the laws of its own country of declaring war on Soviet Russia. Parallel to this there is a protest, outwardly unnoticeable but nevertheless a profound protest on the part of the working-class press which asks where, in their constitution, in the constitution of France, Britain or America, are to be found laws permitting the conduct of war without having declared war and without having consulted parliament? The press of Britain, France and America has proposed to arraign their heads of state for a crime against the state, for declaring war without the permission of parliament. Such proposals have been made, although it is true that it was in papers that come out not more than once a week and are probably confiscated not less than once a month and have a circulation of a few hundred or a few thousand copies. The leaders of the responsible government parties could afford to ignore such papers. But here we have to consider two different tendencies; the ruling classes throughout the world publish well-known capitalist dailies in millions of copies and these are packed with unprecedented lies and slander against the Bolsheviks. But down below, the working-class masses learn about the falsity of that whole campaign from the soldiers who have returned from Russia. That is why it became necessary for the Entente to withdraw its forces from Russia.

When we said at the very outset that we place our stakes on the world revolution we were laughed at, and hundreds of times it was said and is still being said that it cannot be realised. During the past two years we have obtained precise material with which to verify it. If we speak of that stake as meaning hopes for a rapid, immediate insurrection in Europe, then we know there has not been one. That stake, however, proved to be fundamentally a true one and from the very outset it removed all possibility of an armed intervention on the part of the Entente; after two years and especially since the defeat of Kolchak and since the withdrawal of British forces from Archangel and from the entire Northern Front this has become an undoubted historical

fact. A very small part of the armies at the disposal of the Entente would have been enough to crush us. But we were able to defeat the enemy because the sympathy of the workers of the whole world made itself felt at the most difficult moment. And thus we succeeded in emerging honourably from this first period of the Entente invasion. I remember some article, Radek's I think, said that the Entente troops' contact with the hot soil of Russia, the country that had started the fire of the socialist revolution, would also set those troops on fire. Events showed that this really did happen. It goes without saying, furthermore, that the processes that are taking place among the British and French soldiers and sailors who know the names of those who have been shot for Bolshevik agitation, no matter how weak these processes are, no matter how weak the communist organisations are over there, are doing a gigantic job. The results are visible—they have compelled the Entente countries to withdraw their forces. This alone gave us our first major victory.

The second method or second system employed by the Entente in its struggle was to use small states against us. It was reported in a Swedish newspaper[57] at the end of last August that the British Secretary for War, Churchill, had said that fourteen states would attack Russia so that the fall of Petrograd and Moscow was certain in the near future, at any rate by the end of the year. I believe Churchill later denied having made this statement and said that the Bolsheviks had invented it. We have, however, exact information as to which Swedish newspaper published it. We therefore insist that the report came from European sources. Furthermore it is supported by facts. We know from the example of Finland and Estonia that the Entente has bent all its efforts to force them to attack Soviet Russia. I personally read one leading article in the British newspaper *The Times* on the question of Finland[58] at the time when Yudenich's troops were a few versts from Petrograd and the city was in tremendous danger. The article was seething with wrath and indignation, and was written in an unprecedentedly impassioned style, unusual for that newspaper (such newspapers usually write in diplomatic language similar to that used in Milyukov's *Rech*[59] in Russia). It was the wildest proclamation addressed to Finland and presenting the question bluntly—the

fate of the world depended on Finland and the eyes of all civilised capitalist countries were fixed on her. We know that that was the decisive moment when Yudenich's troops were a few versts from Petrograd. It makes no difference whether Churchill made the statement quoted or not, he certainly pursued that policy. It is well known what pressure the Entente brought to bear on those small countries that had been hastily formed, were weak and wholly dependent on the Entente even in such basic questions as that of food and in all other respects. They cannot break away from that dependence. All kinds of pressure—financial, food, military—have been applied to force Estonia, Finland, and no doubt Latvia, Lithuania and Poland as well, to force that whole group of states to make war on us. The history of Yudenich's last campaign against Petrograd has shown to the full that the Entente's second method of conducting war has failed. There can be no doubt that the least bit of aid from Finland or—a little more aid—from Estonia would have been enough to decide the fate of Petrograd. Nor is there any doubt that the Entente, realising the gravity of the situation, did everything it could to obtain that aid but nevertheless suffered defeat.

This was the second major international victory that we achieved and it was a more complicated victory than the first. The first was achieved because it turned out that British and French troops could not be retained on the territory of Russia; they did not fight but provided Britain and France with rebels who raised the British and French workers against their own governments. And so it has happened that although Russia has been deliberately encircled by a ring of small states obviously created and maintained for the struggle against Bolshevism, this weapon, too, has turned against the Entente. There are bourgeois governments in all these states and almost everywhere there are bourgeois collaborators in those governments, people who, because of their class position, go against the Bolsheviks. Every one of these nations, of course, is definitely hostile to the Bolsheviks, but we, nevertheless, have managed to turn those bourgeois and collaborators to our side. This seems improbable, but it is true, because each of those states, after what it has experienced in the imperialist war, is bound to

hesitate on the question of whether it is now worth its while to fight against the Bolsheviks when the only other claimant to power in Russia—a claimant that they have reason to consider serious—is either Kolchak or Denikin, that is, representatives of old imperialist Russia; and there is no doubt that Kolchak and Denikin represent old Russia. We have, therefore, been given an opportunity to rely on another crack in the imperialist camp. During the first months following our revolution we were able to hold out because the German and British imperialists were at each other's throats, but after those six months we were able to hold out for more than another six months because the troops of the Entente were in no condition to fight against us; the following year, however, the year that we now have mainly to render account for, we held out successfully because the attempt of the Great Powers under whose influence the small countries undoubtedly are, the attempt of those Great Powers to mobilise the small countries against us has been a failure because of the contradiction between the interests of world imperialism and the interests of those countries. The Entente has already had its paws on each of the small countries. They know that when the French, American or British capitalists say, "We guarantee you independence", that means in practice, "We shall buy from you all the sources of your wealth and shall hold you in bondage. Furthermore, we shall treat you with the insolence of an officer who has come to a foreign country to administer it and to speculate in it and who will not consider anybody's opinion". They know that the British Ambassador in almost all such countries is of greater significance than a local king or parliament. And if petty-bourgeois democrats have so far been unable to comprehend this verity, reality has now compelled them to understand it. It has turned out that as far as concerns the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements of the small countries the imperialists are plundering, we are, maybe, not allies, but at any rate more reliable and more valuable neighbours than the imperialists.

That is the second victory over world imperialism that we have won.

That is why we now have every right to say that the main difficulties are behind us. There is no doubt that

the Entente will make many more attempts at armed intervention in our affairs. Although the latest victories over Kolchak and Yudenich have now given spokesmen of all those powers cause to say that a campaign against Russia is hopeless and to offer us peace, we must realise clearly the meaning of such statements. What I am now going to say is not for the record....

Since we have managed to extract admissions of this kind from bourgeois intellectuals, from our merciless enemies, we have every right to say that the sympathies, not only of the working class, but also of extensive circles of bourgeois intellectuals are on the side of Soviet power. The philistines, the petty bourgeoisie, those who wavered in the savage fight between labour and capital, have now come over definitely to our side, and we may to some extent anticipate their support.

We must take this victory into consideration and if we link it up with the way we, in the long run, achieved the victory over Kolchak, the conclusion becomes more convincing ... now you may begin writing again, the diplomacy is finished.

If we ask the question as to what forces made our victory over Kolchak possible, we have to admit that the victory over Kolchak, despite his having operated on territory where the proletariat was in a minority and we were unable to give the peasantry direct, real help to overthrow the power of the landowners as we did in Russia, despite Kolchak's having begun on a front supported by Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries who established the front of the Constituent Assembly, despite there having been the most favourable conditions for the formation of a government that could rely on the aid of world imperialism—despite all this the experiment ended in the complete defeat of Kolchak. We have the right to draw the following conclusion from this, a conclusion that is very significant to us and should guide us in all our activities—*the class that can lead the mass of the population must triumph historically*. The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries are still talking about the Constituent Assembly, about the will of the nation, and so on, but during this period experience has convinced us that in revolutionary times the class struggle is carried on in the

most terrible forms but can lead to victory only when the class conducting the struggle is capable of giving leadership to the majority of the people. In this respect, the comparison that was made, not by voting with tickets, but by more than a year's experience of the most arduous, most bloody struggle that demanded a hundred times more sacrifices than any political struggle—this experience in respect of Kolchak has shown that more than any other party we are putting into effect the rule of that class the majority of which we have proved capable of leading and that we are adding the peasantry to our ranks as friends and allies. The example of Kolchak demonstrated this. In the social sphere this example has been the latest lesson for us; it shows on whom we can depend and who will go against us.

No matter how greatly the working class may have been weakened by the imperialist war and the economic ruin it is nevertheless effecting political leadership, but it would not be able to if it had not gained the majority of the working population, under Russian conditions the peasantry, as friends and allies. This has taken place in the Red Army where we have been able to employ specialists, the majority of whom were against us, and create the army which, according to the admission of our enemies, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, as evidenced by a resolution of the last Council of their party, is a people's and not a mercenary army.[60] The working class was able to build up an army the majority of which does not belong to that class and was able to employ specialists hostile to it only because it led and made friends and allies of that mass of working people connected with petty proprietorship, who have property connections and who, therefore, have a profound interest in free trading, i.e., in capitalism, in the return to the power of money. This is at the bottom of everything we have achieved in the past two years. In all our further work, in all our further activities, in those activities that must be begun in the Ukraine now being liberated, in all the organisational work that will be developing in all its difficulty and importance after the victory over Denikin, we must keep this basic lesson always before our eyes, we must remember it more than anything else. This, in my opinion, sums up the political results of all our work.

Comrades, it has been said that war is a continuation of politics. We have experienced that in our own war. The imperialist war that was a continuation of the politics of the imperialists, of the ruling classes, of landowners and capitalists, brought forth the hostility of the masses of the people and was the best means of revolutionising them. Here in Russia the war helped overthrow the monarchy, helped abolish landed proprietorship and overthrow the bourgeoisie, all of which was done with unparalleled ease only because the imperialist war was a continuation and an aggravation of imperialist politics that had become more insolent. And our war was a continuation of our communist politics, the politics of the proletariat. We still read in the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary papers and we hear from non-party and from wavering people, "You promised peace and have given us war, you have deceived the working people." And we say that the masses of the working people who have not studied Marxism have nevertheless learned full well the difference between imperialist and civil war, learned it through their class instinct, the instinct of oppressed people who have themselves for decades experienced what the landowner and capitalist are. Those who have experienced oppression for decades all realise that there is a difference between wars. The imperialist war was a continuation of imperialist politics; it aroused the masses against their masters. The Civil War is a war against the landowners and capitalists and is a continuation of the policy of overthrowing the power of those landowners and capitalists, and each month the development of the war has strengthened the bonds between the mass of working people and the proletariat that has assumed the leadership in the war. No matter how great the trials may have been, no matter how frequent the big defeats, no matter how serious those defeats have been, no matter how many times the enemy has achieved tremendous victories and the existence of Soviet power has hung by a thread—there have been such moments, and there is no doubt the Entente will again try to fight against us—it must be said that the experience we have gained is a very sound one. That experience has shown that war strengthens the political consciousness of the working people and shows them the advantages of Soviet power. Naïve people or those who are

wholly wrapped up in the prejudices of the old petty bourgeoisie or of the old bourgeois-democratic parliamentarism expect the peasant to decide through an election slip whether he will follow the Bolshevik Communists or the Socialist-Revolutionaries; they do not want to recognise any other decision because they are in favour of rights for the people, freedom, the Constituent Assembly, etc. Events made it necessary for the peasant to verify the issue in practice. After having given the Socialist-Revolutionaries the majority in the Constituent Assembly, after the policy of the Socialist-Revolutionaries had failed and the peasants had to deal with the Bolsheviks in practice, they realised that our government is a sound one, it is a government that demands rather a lot, it is a government that is able to ensure the fulfilment of those demands at all costs, it is a government that regards the loan of bread to the hungry to be the absolute duty of the peasants even if they receive no equivalent in return, they realised that ours is a government that will ensure the supply of bread to the hungry no matter at what cost The peasant saw this and compared our government with that of Kolchak and Denikin, and he made his choice, not through the ballot-box but by deciding the issue in practice, when he had had the experience of both kinds of government. The peasant is deciding and will continue to decide the question in our favour.

That is what the history of Kolchak's defeat has taught us and that is what our victories in the South have proved. That is why we say that literally masses, millions of people living in the villages, millions of peasants are coming over completely to our side I think this is the chief political lesson that we have learned in this period and which we must apply to the problems of internal organisation that will, with the victory over Denikin near, be placed on the order of the day now that it has become possible for us to concentrate on internal development.

The chief accusation made against us by the European petty bourgeoisie concerns our terrorism, our crude suppression of the intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie. "You and your governments have forced all that upon us," we say in reply. When people shout about terror we answer, "When countries who have the world's fleets at their disposal

and have armed forces that are a hundred times greater than ours pounced upon us and compelled small states to make war on us—was that not terrorism?"

That was real terrorism when all the powers united against a country that was one of the most backward and most weakened by war. Even Germany kept helping the Entente from the time before her defeat when she was supplying Krasnov and up to the present day, when that same Germany is blockading us and giving direct help to our enemies. This attack by world imperialism, this campaign against us, this bribery of conspirators inside the country—was this not terrorism? The reason for our terrorism was that we were attacked by armed forces against which we had to bend all our efforts. Inside the country we had to act with all persistence, we had to muster all our forces. In this case we did not want to be—and we decided that we would not be—in the position in which those who collaborated with Kolchak in Siberia found themselves, the position in which the German collaborationists will find themselves tomorrow, those who imagine they represent a government and are relying on the Constituent Assembly although at any moment a hundred or a thousand officers can push that government out of office. This can be understood because those officers constitute a trained, organised mass with an excellent knowledge of the art of war, that holds all the strings in its hands, that is well-informed about the bourgeoisie and the landowners and enjoys their sympathies.

This has been demonstrated by the history of all countries since the imperialist war, and today, when faced with such terrorism on the part of the Entente, we have the right to resort to terror ourselves.

It follows from this that the accusation of terror, insofar as it is justified, should be against the bourgeoisie and not against us. They forced terror upon us. And we shall be the first to take steps to confine it to the lowest possible minimum as soon as we put an end to the chief source of terrorism—the invasion of world imperialism, the war plots and the military pressure of world imperialism on our country.

While speaking of terrorism we must say something about our attitude to that middle stratum, the intelligentsia, that

mostly complain about the brutality of Soviet power and that Soviet power puts them in a worse position than before.

Whatever we, with the meagre means at our disposal, can do for the intelligentsia we are doing. We know, of course, the little significance of the paper ruble, but we also know the significance of the black market as an aid to those who cannot get enough food through our food organisations. In this respect we give the bourgeois intelligentsia an advantage. We know that at the moment when world imperialism pounced on us we had to introduce strict military discipline and defend ourselves with all the forces we could muster. When we are pursuing a revolutionary war we cannot, of course, do what all bourgeois states do—leave the working people to hear the brunt of the war. The burden of the Civil War must be and will be shared by the entire intelligentsia, all the petty bourgeoisie, and all middle-class elements—all of them will bear the burden. It will naturally be more difficult for them to bear that burden because they have been privileged for decades, but in the interests of the social revolution we must place that burden on their shoulders, too. This is the way we reason and the way we act, and we cannot do otherwise.

The end of the Civil War will be a step towards improving the conditions of those groups. We have already shown by our tariff policy and by the declaration in our programme that we recognise the need to give these groups better conditions because the transition from capitalism to communism is impossible unless the bourgeois specialists are used; and all our victories—all the victories of the Red Army led by the proletariat that has drawn over to its side the peasantry who are half labourers and half property-owners—were achieved partly because of our ability to use bourgeois specialists. This policy of ours as expressed in matters military must become the policy of our internal development.

The experience gained in this period tells us that while laying the foundations of the building we have often undertaken work on the dome, on all sorts of ornament, etc. Perhaps this was, to a certain extent, necessary for a socialist republic. Perhaps we had to build up in all spheres of national life. The craving to build up in all spheres is perfectly natural. If we were to look at what has been done

in the sphere of state organisation we would see almost everywhere many things begun and abandoned; these are the sort that make one want to say when looking at them that they could have waited and we should have begun with the main thing. It is quite natural that all our leading people should be interested in the tasks that can be carried out only after the foundations have been laid. But on the basis of this experience we can now say that in future we shall concentrate our efforts more on the main job, on the foundation, on those simple problems that are the most difficult to solve but which we shall nevertheless solve. These are the problem of bread, the problem of fuel and the problem of fighting the lice. These are three simple problems that will make possible the building of a socialist republic and then our victory throughout the world will be a hundred times more certain and more triumphant than that with which we repulsed the attack of the Entente.

The bread problem. We have achieved much with our requisitioning system. Our food policy has made it possible in the second year to acquire three times as much grain as in the first. During three months of the last campaign more grain was procured than during three months of last year, although, as you will hear in the report by the People's Commissar for Food, it was accompanied by what were, without doubt, great difficulties. One raid by Mamontov that took in the whole southern part of the central agricultural zone cost us very dear. But we have learned to carry out the requisitioning system, i.e., we have learned to make the peasants sell their grain to the state at fixed prices, without an equivalent in exchange. We know full well, of course, that paper money is not the equivalent of grain. We know that the peasant is loaning us his grain, and we ask him, "Should you hold back your grain waiting for an equivalent so that the workers can die of starvation? Do you want to trade on a free market and take us thereby back to capitalism?" Many intellectuals who have read Marx do not understand that freedom to trade is a return to capitalism; the peasant, however, understands it more easily. He knows that to sell bread at free prices, when the starving are prepared to pay anything for it, are prepared to give up all they have to escape death from starvation—he knows that this is a return to

exploitation, that it is freedom for the rich to make a profit and ruination for the poor. We say that this is a crime against the state and we shall not yield an inch in this struggle.

In this struggle to requisition grain the peasant will have to loan his grain to the hungry worker—that is the only way to begin proper organisation, to restore industry, etc. If the peasant does not do this, there will be a return to capitalism. If the peasant feels that he has ties with the workers he will be prepared to surrender his grain surpluses at fixed prices, i.e., for a simple piece of coloured paper—this is something essential without which the starving worker cannot be saved from death, without which industry cannot be rehabilitated. It is an extremely difficult problem and it cannot be solved by force alone. No matter how much shouting there may be about the Bolsheviks being a party that coerces the peasantry, we still say, "Gentlemen, it is a lie!" If we were a party that coerces the peasantry, how could we have held out against Kolchak, how could we have formed a conscript army in which four-fifths of the soldiers are peasants, all of whom are armed and who have the example of the imperialist war to show them that a rifle can easily be turned in any direction? How can we be a party that coerces the peasants—we, a party that is putting into effect the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, a party that tells the peasantry that the transition to free trading is a return to capitalism and that our requisitioning of surpluses by force is directed against the profiteer and not against the working people?

The requisitioning of grain must be the basis of all our activity. The food problem is at the basis of all problems. We have to devote a great deal of effort to defeat Denikin. There must not be the slightest hesitation or carelessness until the victory is complete, for all sorts of turns are possible. Whenever there is the slightest improvement in the war situation, however, we must devote greater effort to the work of food supplies because that is the basis of everything. The requisitioning must be carried out in full. Only when we have solved that problem shall we have a socialist foundation, and on that socialist foundation we shall be able to erect the splendid edifice of socialism that we have so often begun to build from the top and which has so often collapsed.

Another basic problem is that of fuel, the main foundation for our development. This is the problem we have come up against now, since we cannot take advantage of our successes in food supplies, since we cannot transport the grain, cannot make full use of our victories because there is no fuel. We still do not have a proper apparatus to settle the fuel problem, but it is possible to settle it.

There is a shortage of coal throughout Europe today. If the fuel problem is so acute in the richest of the victor countries, even those like America that has never been attacked or invaded, it naturally affects us too. It will take us several years to rehabilitate the coal industry, even under the best conditions.

We have to save ourselves with firewood. We are devoting more and more Party forces to this work. During the last week the greatest attention has been paid to this problem in the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Defence and a number of measures have been adopted that should effect a turning-point in this sphere similar to that effected by our armies on the Southern Front. Our activities in this field must not slacken and every step must bring us closer to victory in the battle against the fuel hunger. The material supplies are available. Until we have restored the coal industry we can manage with firewood and keep industry supplied with fuel. We must devote all Party forces, comrades, to that basic problem.

Our third problem is that of the fight against lice, against the lice that carry typhus. Typhus among a population that is exhausted by hunger, is ill, has no bread, soap or fuel, may prove a calamity that will prevent our tackling any sort of socialist development.

This is the first step in our struggle for culture and this, too, is a struggle for existence.

These are the main problems. To these I should like to draw the attention, more than to anything else, of comrades who are members of the Party. So far the attention we have been paying to these problems is so little as to be out of all proportion. Nine-tenths of the forces that are not engaged in war activities—which must not be lessened for a single minute—must be directed to these priority tasks. We now have a clear picture of the issues at stake. Everyone

must make the best possible effort; all our forces must be devoted to these tasks.

With this I shall end the political section of the report. As far as the international part is concerned, Comrade Chicherin will report on that in detail and will read you the proposal we should like to make to the belligerent countries in the name of the Congress of Soviets.

I shall deal very briefly with Party tasks. In the course of the revolution our Party has been confronted with a most important task. It is natural, on the one hand, that all the worst elements should cling to the ruling party merely because it is the ruling party. On the other hand, the working class is exhausted and is naturally weak in a country that is in ruins. Nevertheless it is only the advanced section of the working class, its vanguard, that is capable of leading the country. To accomplish this task in the sphere of state organisation we have employed subbotniks as one of the means. The slogan we have put forward is this—the first who can join our Party are those who have volunteered for the front; those who cannot fight must show in their own places that they understand what the workers' party is, they must show it by applying the principles of communism in practice. And communism, if you take that word in its strict meaning, is voluntary unpaid work for the common good that does not depend on individual differences, that wipes out all memories of everyday prejudices, wipes out stagnation, tradition, differences between branches of work, differences in the rate of pay for labour, etc. This is one of the greatest guarantees that we are drawing the working class and all working people into the work of peace-time organisation as well as into war-time activities. The further development of communist subbotniks must be a school. Every step must be accompanied by the attraction into the Party of working-class elements and the most reliable people from other classes. We achieve this by means of re-registration. We are not afraid to remove those who are not fully reliable. We also achieve this by trusting a Party member who comes to us in a difficult time. Those Party members, as today's Central Committee report shows, who came to us in hundreds and thousands when Yudenich was a few versts from Petrograd and Denikin was north of Orel, when the bourgeoisie were

already jubilant—those Party members are worthy of our trust. We value the extension of the Party on these lines.

After we have carried out the expansion of the Party on these lines we must shut the gates, we must be particularly cautious. We must say that now the Party is victorious we do not need new Party members. We know full well that in a disintegrating capitalist society a mass of harmful people will try to worm their way into the Party. We must create a party that will be a party of workers in which there is no place for alien elements, but we must also draw the masses into the work, those who are outside the Party. How is this to be done? The means to this end—workers' and peasants' non-party conferences. An article on non-party conferences[61] was recently published in *Pravda*. This article, written by Comrade Rostopchin, deserves special attention. I do not know any other way of solving this problem of profound historical importance. The Party cannot throw its doors wide open, because it is absolutely inevitable that in the epoch of disintegrating capitalism it will gather to itself the worst elements. The Party must be so narrow that it draws into its ranks only those elements from other classes that it has an opportunity to test with great caution.

But we have several hundred thousand Party members in a country with a population of more than a hundred million. How can such a party govern? In the first place there are, and must be, the trade unions to assist it, and these have millions of members; the second assistant is non-party conferences. At these non-party conferences we must be able to approach the non-proletarian section, we must overcome prejudice and petty-bourgeois vacillation—that is one of our most important, fundamental tasks.

We must assess the success of our Party organisations, not only by the number of Party members engaged in some kind of work, not only by the degree of success in carrying out the re-registration, but by non-party workers' and peasants' conferences, whether they are arranged correctly and often enough, that is, by the ability of the organisation to approach those masses that cannot at the moment join the Party but which we must draw into the work.

If we have beaten the Entente it is probably because we have earned the sympathy of the working class, and of the

non-party masses. If we have succeeded in defeating Kolchak it is probably because he was no longer able to draw more forces from the reservoir of the working people. We have a reservoir that no other government in the world has and which no government in the world except the government of the working class can have, because only the government of the working class can draw with absolute confidence on the most downtrodden and most backward working people. We can and must draw our forces from among the non-party workers and peasants because they are our true friends. For the solution of the bread and fuel problems and for the fight against typhus we can draw forces from these masses that were the most oppressed by the capitalists and landowners. And we are assured of the support of those masses. We shall continue to draw more and more forces from these masses and we may say that in the end we shall defeat all our enemies. And we shall work miracles in the sphere of peaceful construction (to be developed in proper style after Denikin has been defeated) that will be greater than those we have worked in the military sphere in the past two years.

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3

CONCLUDING SPEECH ON THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECEMBER 2

I should have declined to reply to the discussion if Comrade Sapronov had not egged me on; I want to polemise a little with him. There is no doubt that we should listen to what experienced local functionaries have to say. All their advice is valuable to us. But I ask you, what is there bad in what is written here? I was not acquainted with that point. Sapronov gave it to me. It says here, "Draft Instructions to Gubernia, Uyezd and Volost Committees on Work in the Countryside."[62] So the instructions are addressed to those local functionaries through whom the work in the localities is carried on. When agitators, commissars, agents or representatives of the Central Committee are sent they are undoubtedly always given instructions. Clause 9 here says: "Obtain from state farms and from communes help for the neighbouring peasants, immediate and real help." I assumed that even an agent of the Central Committee would have a head on his shoulders. If regulations have been approved, how can he demand that they give up a cart, a horse or something? On this score we have instructions enough—some people say there are too many of them. And an agent of the C.C. can make demands only insofar as the instructions allow it, and no commune manager would allow a cart, a horse or a cow to be given away. But this is a serious question, because it often spoils our relations with the peasants, and in the Ukraine they may be spoiled a second time, if we are unable to put our political line into effect. It is not difficult to carry

it out, and the peasant will be glad of even a little help. It is not enough to adopt an instruction, you must be able to carry it out. If Comrade Sapronov is afraid that a state farm will be robbed of a cow, a horse or a cart, let him share his tremendous experience in this field with us and say "Let us give the peasants implements free of charge or at low cost". That I can understand. And in any case Clause 9 will not be abolished by that, it will, on the contrary, receive confirmation. The relations between the communes and state farms and the neighbouring peasants is one of the most painful aspects of our entire policy. It will be still more serious in the Ukraine and tomorrow it will be the same in Siberia. Today we have won over the Siberian peasant ideologically by liberating him from Kolchak. But it will not be of any duration unless we can so arrange matters that the peasant gets real assistance, and it stands to reason that every agent working in the countryside must be given the relevant instructions. And when an agent makes his report he must be asked: "Where and in what way did the state farms help the peasant?" Comrade Sapronov's directives on this point were incorrect. It is our basic, unconditional duty to make use of the experience of local Party functionaries. (*Applause*.)

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4

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON FOREIGN POLICY[63]

The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic wishes to live in peace with all peoples and devote all its efforts to internal development so as to put production, transport and government affairs in order on the basis of the Soviet system; this has so far been prevented by the intervention of the Entente and the starvation blockade.

The workers' and peasants' government has made repeated peace proposals to the Entente powers—the message from the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to the American representative, Mr. Poole, on August 5, 1918; to President Wilson on October 24, 1918; to all Entente governments, through representatives of neutral countries on November 3, 1918; a message from the Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets on November 7, 1918; Litvinov's Note in Stockholm to all Entente representatives on December 23, 1918; then there were the messages of January 12, January 17 and February 4, 1919, and the draft treaty drawn up jointly with Bullitt on March 12, 1919; and a message through Nansen on May 7, 1919.

The Seventh Congress of Soviets fully approves these many steps taken by the Council of People's Commissars and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, once more confirms its lasting desire for peace and again proposes to the Entente powers, Britain, France, the United States of America, Italy and Japan, individually and collectively, to begin immediately negotiations on peace; the Congress instructs the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the

Council of People's Commissars and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to continue this peace policy systematically (or: to continue this peace policy systematically, taking all appropriate measures to ensure its success).

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First published in 1932

Published according to the manuscript

5

SPEECH SUMMING UP THE DEBATE ON SOVIET POWER IN THE UKRAINE DECEMBER 3

Comrades, there is little for me to say, although unfortunately I shall have to raise objections, not so much to Comrade Yakovlev who spoke before me, as to Comrades Bubnov and Drobnis who spoke after me. Nevertheless I shall have to make only a partial comment.

Insofar as Comrade Rakovsky's speech is concerned, I must say that when he said that state farms must be the basis of our communist construction he was wrong. Under no circumstances can we organise our affairs in that way. We must accept the fact that we should convert only a very small part of the progressive farms into state farms, otherwise we shall not effect a bloc with the petty peasants—and we need that bloc. When some of the comrades said that I recommend a bloc with the *Borotba* Party[64] they mistook my meaning. Here I compared the policy that must be pursued in respect of the *Borotba* Party with the policy we had pursued in respect of the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries. We were then accused, in the first week after October—at peasant congresses, incidentally—of not wanting to use the forces of the peasantry once we had seized power. In reply I said that we had taken over their programme in its entirety so as to use the forces of the peasantry—we want to do that, but we don't want an alliance with Socialist-Revolutionaries. Comrade Manuilsky, like Comrades Drobnis and Bubnov, was, therefore, making an extremely strange mistake in asserting that I recommend a bloc with the *Borotba* Party. My opinion is that we must

demonstrate that we need a bloc with the Ukrainian peasantry, and in order to achieve that bloc we must polemise with the Borotba people in a way that differs from the present polemics. All those who spoke about the national question—Comrades Drobnis and Bubnov and many others spoke about it—show by their criticism of the C.C. resolution that they are pursuing the very same policy of "independence" we reproved the Kiev people for. Comrade Manuilsky is making a peculiar mistake in thinking that we accused them of independence in the national sense, in the sense of Ukrainian self-determination. We reproved them for their "independence" in the sense of their not wanting to consider Moscow's views, the views of the Central Committee in Moscow. The word was used jokingly and had a completely different meaning.

The issue is now the following. Do we need a bloc with the Ukrainian peasantry, do we need a policy of the type we needed at the end of 1917 and for many months in 1919? I maintain that we do and that for this reason most of the state farms must be handed over for actual distribution. We need a struggle against kulak farms, we need a struggle against petty-bourgeois prejudices, we need a struggle against the guerrilla bands. The Borotba Party talk a lot about the national question but they say nothing about the guerrillas. We must demand that the Borotba people disband the teachers' union even though it uses the Ukrainian language and bears the state seal of the Ukraine—it must be disbanded for the sake of those principles of proletarian communist policy for which we disbanded our own All-Russia Teachers' Union; we disbanded it because it did not implement the principles of proletarian dictatorship but defended the interests and pursued the policy of the petty bourgeoisie.

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SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS OF AGRICULTURAL COMMUNES AND AGRICULTURAL ARTELS[65] DECEMBER 4, 1919

Comrades, I am very glad to greet your first congress of agricultural communes and agricultural artels on behalf of the government. Of course, from all the activities of the Soviet government you know what tremendous significance we attach to the communes, artels, and all organisations generally that aim at transforming and at gradually assisting the transformation of small, individual peasant farming into socialised, co-operative, or artel farming. You are aware that the Soviet government long ago allotted the sum of one thousand million rubles to assist efforts of this kind.[66] The Statute on Socialist Agrarian Measures[67] particularly stresses the significance of communes, artels, and all enterprises for the joint cultivation of the land, and the Soviet government is exerting every effort to ensure that this law shall not remain on paper only, but shall really produce the benefits it is intended to produce.

The importance of all enterprises of this kind is tremendous, because if the old, poverty-stricken peasant farming remains unchanged there can be no question of building up a stable socialist society. Only if we succeed in proving to the peasants in practice the advantages of common, collective, co-operative, artel cultivation of the soil, only if we succeed in helping the peasant by means of co-operative or artel farming, will the working class, which wields state power, be really able to convince the peasant that its policy is correct and thus secure the real and lasting following of the millions

of peasants. It is therefore impossible to exaggerate the importance of every measure intended to encourage co-operative, artel forms of farming. We have millions of individual farms in our country, scattered and dispersed throughout remote rural districts. It would be absolutely absurd to attempt to reshape these farms in any rapid way, by issuing an order or bringing pressure to bear from without. We fully realise that we can influence the millions of small peasant farms only gradually and cautiously and only by a successful practical example, for the peasants are far too practical and cling far too tenaciously to the old methods of farming to consent to any serious change merely on the basis of advice or book instructions. That is impossible, and it would be absurd. Only when it has been proved in practice, by experience comprehensible to the peasants, that the transition to the co-operative, artel form of farming is essential and possible, shall we be entitled to say that in this vast peasant country, Russia, an important step towards socialist agriculture has been taken. Consequently, the vast importance that attaches to communes, artels, and co-operative farms lays on all of you tremendous state and socialist obligations and naturally makes it imperative for the Soviet government and its representatives to treat this question with especial attention and caution.

In our law on socialist agrarian measures it is stated that we consider it the absolute duty of all co-operative, artel agricultural enterprises not to isolate and sever themselves from the surrounding peasant population, but to afford them assistance. This is stipulated in the law, it is repeated in the rules of all the communes, artels, and co-operatives; it is constantly stressed in the instructions and rulings of our Commissariat of Agriculture and of all Soviet government bodies. But the whole point is to find a really practical method of putting this into effect. I am still not convinced that we have overcome this principal difficulty. And I should like your congress, at which practical workers in collective farming from all parts of Russia have the opportunity of sharing their experience, to put an end to all doubts and to prove that we are mastering, are beginning to master in practice, the task of consolidating the artels, co-operative farms, and communes and every form of enterprise for

collective and socialised farming generally. But in order to prove this, *practical* results are required.

When we read the rules of the agricultural communes, or books devoted to this question, it might appear that we devote too much space in them to propaganda and the theoretical justification of the need to organise communes. Of course, that is necessary, for without detailed propaganda, without explaining the advantages of co-operative farming, and without repeating this idea thousands and thousands of times we cannot expect the broad masses of peasants to take an interest in it and undertake practical tests of the methods of carrying it into effect. Of course, propaganda is necessary, and there is no need to fear repetition, for what may appear to us to be repetition is most likely for hundreds and thousands of peasants not repetition, but a truth revealed for the first time. You may think that we are devoting too much attention to propaganda, but it must be said that we ought to devote a hundred times more. And when I say this, I mean it in the sense that if we go to the peasant with general explanations of the advantages of organising agricultural communes, and at the same time are unable in actual fact to show the practical advantage that will accrue to him from co-operative, artel farms, he will not have the slightest confidence in our propaganda.

The law says that the communes, artels, and co-operative farms must assist the surrounding peasant population. But the state, the workers' government, is providing a fund of one thousand million rubles for the purpose of assisting the agricultural communes and artels. And, of course, if any commune were to assist the peasants out of this fund I am afraid it would only arouse ridicule among the peasants. And it would be absolutely justified. Every peasant will say: "It goes without saying that if you are getting a fund of one thousand million rubles it means nothing to you to throw a little our way." I am afraid the peasant will only jeer, for he pays considerable attention to this matter, and is very distrustful of it. He has been accustomed for centuries to expect only oppression from the state, and he is therefore in the habit of regarding everything that comes from the state with suspicion. And if the agricultural communes give assistance to the peasants merely for the purpose of

fulfilling the letter of the law, such assistance will be not only useless but harmful. For the name "agricultural commune" is a great one; it is associated with the conception of communism. It will be a good thing if the communes; show in practice that they are indeed seriously working for the improvement of peasant farming; that will undoubtedly enhance the prestige of the Communists and the Communist Party. But it has frequently happened that the communes have only succeeded in provoking a negative attitude among the peasantry, and the word "commune" has even at times become a call to fight communism. And this happened not only when stupid attempts were made to drive the peasants into the communes by force. The absurdity of this was so obvious that the Soviet government long ago forbade it. And I hope that if isolated examples of such coercion are to be met with now, they are very few, and that you will take advantage of the present congress to see to it that the last trace of this outrage is swept from the face of the Soviet Republic, and that the neighbouring peasant population may not be able to point to a single instance in support of the old opinion that membership of a commune is in one way or another associated with coercion.

But even if we eliminate this old shortcoming, completely suppress this outrage, it will still be only a small fraction of what has to be done. For it will still be necessary for the state to help the communes, and we would not be Communists and champions of socialist economy if we did not give state aid to every kind of collective agricultural enterprise. We must do so because it is in accordance with all our aims, and because we know perfectly well that these co-operatives, artels, and collective organisations are innovations, and if support is not given them by the working class in power they will not take root. In order that they should take root, and in view of the fact that the state is affording them monetary and every other kind of support, we must see to it that they do not provoke the ridicule of the peasants. What we must be most careful about is that the peasants should not say of members of communes, artels and co-operatives that they are state pensioners, that they differ from the peasants only by the fact that they are receiving privileges. If we are to give land and subsidies for building

purposes out of the thousand-million-ruble fund, any fool will live somewhat better than the ordinary peasant. What is there communistic here, the peasant will ask, and where is the improvement? What are we to respect them for? If you pick out a few score or a few hundred individuals and give them a thousand million, of course they will work.

Such an attitude on the part of the peasants is most to be feared, and I should like to draw the attention of the comrades assembled at the congress to this. The problem must be solved practically, so as to enable us to say that we have not only averted this danger, but have also found means whereby the peasant will not be led to think in this way, but will, on the contrary, find in every commune and artel something which the state is assisting, will find in them new methods of farming which show their advantages over the old methods not by books and speeches (that is not worth much) but in practice. That is why the problem is so difficult to solve, and that is why it is hard for us, who have only dry figures before us, to judge whether we have proved in practice that every commune and every artel is really superior to every enterprise of the old system and that the workers' government is here helping the peasant.

I think that for the practical solution of this problem, it would be very desirable for you, who have a practical acquaintance with a number of neighbouring communes, artels and co-operatives, to work out real, practical methods for the verification of the implementation of the law demanding that the agricultural communes give assistance to the surrounding population, the way the transition to socialist farming is being put into effect and what concrete forms it is taking in each commune, artel and co-operative farm, how it is actually being put into practice, how many co-operatives and communes are in fact putting it into practice, and how many are only preparing to do so, how many cases have been observed when the communes have given assistance, and what character this assistance bears—philanthropic or socialist.

If out of the aid given them by the state the communes and artels set aside a portion for the peasants, that will only give the peasants grounds far believing that they are merely being helped by kind-hearted people, but will not by any means be proof of transition to a socialist system. The

peasants have for ages been accustomed to regard such "kind-hearted people" with suspicion. We must know how to keep a check on the way this new social order has manifested itself, by what methods it is being proved to the peasants that co-operative, artel cultivation of the soil is better than individual peasant farming, and that it is better *not* because of state aid. We must be able to show the peasants the practical realisation of this new order even *without* state aid.

Unfortunately, I shall not be able to stay till the end of your congress and I shall therefore be unable to take part in elaborating these methods of control. But I am certain that with the aid of the comrades in charge of our Commissariat of Agriculture you will succeed in finding these methods. I have read with great satisfaction an article by the People's Commissar of Agriculture, Comrade Sereda, in which he stresses that the communes and co-operatives must not isolate themselves from the surrounding peasant population but must endeavour to improve the latter's farms. A commune must be organised so that it will serve as a model, and the neighbouring peasants will be attracted to it. We must be able to set them a practical example of how to assist people who are running their farms under the difficult conditions of a shortage of goods and general economic chaos. In order to define the practical methods of effecting this, instructions must be drawn up in the greatest detail and should enumerate all forms of assistance that can be given to neighbouring peasants; the instructions should ask each commune to give an account of what it has done to help the peasants, and indicate methods whereby each of the existing two thousand communes and nearly four thousand artels may become a nucleus capable of strengthening the peasants' conviction that collective farming, as a form of transition to socialism, is something of benefit to them, and not a whim or the ravings of a disordered mind.

I have already said that the law requires the communes to render assistance to the surrounding peasant population. We could not express ourselves otherwise in the law, or give any practical instructions in it. It was our business to establish the general principles, and to count on politically-conscious comrades in the localities scrupulously applying the law and being able to find a thousand ways of

applying it practically in the concrete economic conditions of each given locality. But, of course, every law can be evaded, even under pretence of observing it. And so the law on assisting the peasants, if it is not scrupulously applied, may become a mere game, and lead to results quite contrary to those intended.

The communes must develop in such a way that peasant farming conditions will begin to change by contact with them and by the economic help they give, so that every commune, artel, and co-operative will be able to make the beginnings of an improvement in these conditions and put them into effect, thereby proving to the peasants in practice that this change can be only of benefit to them.

Naturally, you may think we shall be told that in order to improve farming we need conditions that differ from the present economic chaos caused by four years of imperialist war and the two years of civil war forced on us by the imperialists. With such conditions as now exist in our country, how can one think of any widespread improvement in farming—God grant that we may carry on somehow and not die of starvation!

It will be only natural for doubts of this kind to be expressed. But if I had to reply to such objections, I would say this: assume that owing to the disorganisation of economic life, to economic chaos, goods shortage, poor transport and the destruction of cattle and implements, an extensive improvement of farming cannot be effected. But there is no doubt that a certain, not extensive, improvement is possible in a number of individual cases. But let us assume that even this cannot be done. Does that mean that the communes cannot produce changes in the life of the neighbouring peasants and cannot prove to the peasants that collective agricultural enterprises are not an artificial hothouse growth, but a new form of assistance to the working peasants on the part of the workers' government, and an aid to the working peasants in their struggle against the kulaks? I am convinced that even if the matter is regarded in this way, even if we grant the impossibility of effecting improvements under the present conditions of economic chaos, a very great deal may nevertheless be accomplished if there are conscientious Communists in the communes and artels.

To bear this out, I would refer to what in our cities has been called subbotniks. This is the name given to the several hours' unpaid voluntary work done by city workers over and above the usual working day and devoted to some public need. The subbotniks were initiated in Moscow by the workers of the Moscow-Kazan Railway. One of the appeals of the Soviet government pointed out that the Red Army men at the front are making unprecedented sacrifices, and that, in spite of all the hardships they are obliged to undergo, they are gaining unprecedented victories over our enemies, and at the same time stated that we can clinch our victories only if such heroism and such self-sacrifice are displayed not only at the front, but also in the rear. The Moscow workers responded to this appeal by organising subbotniks. There can be no doubt that the workers of Moscow are experiencing greater privation and want than the peasants. If you were to acquaint yourselves with their conditions of life and give some thought to the fact that in spite of these incredibly hard conditions they were able to organise subbotniks, you would agree that no reference to arduous conditions can serve as an excuse for not doing what can be done under any conditions by applying the method of the Moscow workers. Nothing helped so much to enhance the prestige of the Communist Party in the towns, to increase the respect of non-party workers for the Communists, as these subbotniks when they ceased to be isolated instances and when non-party workers saw in practice that the members of the governing Communist Party have obligations and duties, and that the Communists admit new members to the Party not in order that they may enjoy the advantages connected with the position of a governing party, but that they may set an example of real communist labour, i.e., labour performed gratis. Communism is the highest stage in the development of socialism, when people work because they realise the necessity of working for the common good. We know that we cannot establish a socialist order now—God grant that it may be established in our country in our children's time, or perhaps in our grandchildren's time. But we say that the members of the governing Communist Party assume the greater burden of the difficulties in the fight against capitalism, mobilise the best Communists for the front, and

demand of such as cannot be used for this purpose that they take part in subbotniks.

By organising these subbotniks, which have become widespread in every large industrial city, participation in which the Party now demands from every one of its members, punishing non-fulfilment even by expulsion from the Party—by applying this method in the communes, artels, and co-operatives, you can, and must, even under the very worst conditions, see to it that the peasant regards every commune, artel, and co-operative as an association which is distinguished not by the fact that it receives state subsidies, but by the fact that within it are gathered some of the best working-class people who not only preach socialism for others, but are themselves capable of realising it, who are capable of showing that even under the worst conditions they can conduct their farms on communist lines and help the surrounding peasant population in every possible way. On this question there can be no such excuses as the goods shortage, or absence of seed, or loss of cattle. This will be a test which, at all events, will enable us to say definitely to what extent the difficult task we have taken on ourselves has been carried out in practice.

I am certain that this general meeting of representatives of communes, co-operatives and artels will discuss this and will realise that the application of this method will really serve as a powerful instrument for the consolidation of the communes and co-operatives, and will achieve such practical results that nowhere in Russia will there be a single case of hostility towards the communes, artels, and co-operatives on the part of the peasants. But that is not enough. What is required is that the peasants should show a sympathetic attitude towards them. For our part, we representatives of the Soviet government will do everything in our power to help to bring this about and to see to it that state assistance from the thousand-million-ruble fund, or from other sources, shall be forthcoming only in cases when the labour communes or artels have actually established closer contacts with the life of their peasant neighbours. Unless these conditions are fulfilled, we consider any assistance given to the artels and the co-operatives not only useless, but definitely harmful. Assistance given by the communes to

the neighbouring peasants must not be regarded as assistance which is merely given out of superfluity; this assistance must be socialist assistance, i.e., it must enable the peasants to replace their isolated, individual farming by co-operative farming. And this can be done only by the subbotnik method of which I have here spoken.

If you learn from the experience of the city workers, who, although living in conditions immeasurably worse than those of the peasants, initiated the movement for subbotniks, I am certain that, with your general and unanimous support, we shall bring about a situation when each of the several thousand existing communes and artels will become a genuine nursery for communist ideas and views among the peasants, a practical example showing them that, although it is still a small and feeble growth, it is nevertheless not an artificial, hothouse growth, but a true growth of the new socialist system. Only then shall we gain a lasting victory over the old ignorance, impoverishment and want, and only then will the difficulties we meet in our future course hold out no terrors for us.

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1

REPORT OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS DECEMBER 5

(*Applause. Delegates greet Lenin with a standing ovation.*) Comrades, in accordance with a decision of the Presidium the political report I am making is to be the joint report of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars. I trust that you are not expecting me to enumerate the laws and administrative measures introduced by us during the year under review. No doubt the newspapers have made you familiar with them. Furthermore, small booklets published by most of our commissariats and describing their main activities during the period under review are being distributed to all Congress delegates; I should like to draw your attention to a number of summarised results, which in my opinion may be deduced from our experience and which may serve as useful instructions and material for the future work of all comrade delegates in the localities.

When speaking of the political results and lessons of our activities, the Soviet Republic's international position naturally takes first place. Both prior to October and during the October Revolution, we always said that we regard ourselves and can only regard ourselves as one of the contingents of the international proletarian army, a contingent which came to the fore, not because of its level of development and preparedness, but because of Russia's exceptional conditions; we always said that the victory of the socialist

revolution, therefore, can only be regarded as final when it becomes the victory of the proletariat in at least several advanced countries. It was in this respect that we experienced the greatest difficulties.

Our banking on the world revolution, if you can call it that, has on the whole been fully justified. But from the point of view of the speed of its development we have endured an exceptionally difficult period; we have seen for ourselves that the revolution's development in more advanced countries has proved to be considerably slower, considerably more difficult, considerably more complicated. This should not surprise us for it was naturally easier for a country such as Russia to start a socialist revolution than it is for the advanced countries. But, in any case, this slower, more complicated, more zigzag development of the socialist revolution in Western Europe has burdened us with incredible difficulties. The question that primarily comes to mind is: how was it possible for such a miracle to have occurred, for Soviet power to have held out for two years in a backward, ruined and war-weary country, in the face of the stubborn struggle waged against it first by German imperialism, which at that time was considered omnipotent, and then by Entente imperialism, which a year ago settled accounts with Germany, had no rivals and lorded it over all the countries on earth? From the point of view of a simple calculation of the forces involved, from the point of view of a military assessment of these forces, it really is a miracle, because the Entente was and continues to be immeasurably stronger than we are. Nevertheless, the year under review is noteworthy most of all for our having won a tremendous victory, so great a victory that I think we may say without exaggeration that our *main difficulties are already behind us*. No matter how great the dangers and difficulties in store for us, the main ones are evidently behind us. We must understand the reasons for this, and, what is most important, must correctly determine our future policy, since the future will almost certainly bring many further attempts by the Entente at intervention, and possibly a rebirth of the previous predatory alliance between international and Russian capitalists to restore the power of the landowners and capitalists, to overthrow Soviet rule in Russia, in short, an alliance

pursuing the old aim of extinguishing the centre of the world socialist conflagration—the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

Examining the history of the Entente intervention and its political lesson for us from this point of view, I would say that it could be divided into three main stages, each of which has successively given us full and lasting victory.

The first stage, naturally the most convenient and easiest for the Entente countries, involved their attempt to settle matters with Soviet Russia by using their own troops. Of course, after the Entente countries had defeated Germany they had armies of millions of men who had not yet openly declared for peace and who did not immediately recover from the fright given them by the bogey of German imperialism, which had been used to scare them in all the Western countries. At that time, of course, from the military point of view, and from the point of view of foreign policy, it would have been easy for the Entente countries to take a tenth part of their armies and dispatch them to Russia. Note that they completely dominated at sea, that they had complete naval supremacy. Troop transportation and supplies were always completely under their control. Had the Entente countries, who hated us as only the bourgeoisie can hate the socialist revolution, then been able to fling even a tenth part of their armies against us with any success, there cannot be the slightest doubt that Soviet Russia would have been doomed and would have met the same fate as Hungary.

Why did the Entente countries fail to achieve this? They landed troops in Murmansk. The drive into Siberia was undertaken with the aid of Entente troops, and Japanese troops continue to hold a distant slice of Eastern Siberia, while there were military units, even if not big ones, from all the Entente states in all parts of Western Siberia. Then French troops were landed in the South of Russia. That was the first stage of international intervention in our affairs, the first attempt, so to speak, to crush the Soviets with troops from the Entente's own countries, i.e., with the aid of workers and peasants of the more advanced countries, who were splendidly equipped; generally speaking the Entente countries lacked nothing in the way of technical and material

means for the campaign. There were no obstacles confronting them. How, then, are we to explain the failure of that attempt? It ended in the Entente countries having to withdraw their troops, because they proved incapable of waging a struggle against revolutionary Soviet Russia. That, comrades, has always been our main and principal argument. From the very outset of the revolution we have said that we constitute a party of the international proletariat, and that, however great the difficulties facing the revolution, there would come a time when, at the most decisive moment, the sympathy, the solidarity of the workers oppressed by international imperialism would make itself felt. For this we were accused of being utopians. But experience has shown that while we cannot always and in all cases rely on action by the proletariat, at any rate we may say that during these two years of the world's history we have been proved correct a thousand times. The attempt by the British and French to crush Soviet Russia with their own troops, an attempt that promised them certain and very easy success in a minimum of time, ended in failure: the British troops have left Archangel, and the French troops that had landed in the South have all been sent home. Despite the blockade, despite the ring drawn around us, news does reach us from Western Europe, we do get British and French newspapers, even if only sporadically, from which we learn that letters sent by British soldiers from Archangel Region have somehow reached Britain and been published there. We know that the name of the Frenchwoman, Comrade Jeanne Labourbe, who engaged in communist activity among French soldiers and workers and was shot in Odessa, became known to the entire French proletariat and became a battle-cry, a name around which all French workers united for action against international imperialism despite the apparently insurmountable factional trends of syndicalism. The words of Comrade Radek, who fortunately, as today's reports state, has been liberated by Germany and whom we shall perhaps see soon, that the soil of Russia, aflame with the fire of revolution, would prove inaccessible to the Entente troops—these words, which seemed to be just a writer's flight of fancy, were actually realised. Despite all our backwardness, despite all the burden of our struggle, the troops of Britain and France

proved incapable of fighting us on our own soil. The result was a victory for us. The first time that they tried to send massive military forces against us—and without them victory is impossible—the only result was that, thanks to their correct class instinct, the French and British soldiers brought home from Russia the very ulcer of Bolshevism that the German imperialists were fighting when they expelled our envoys from Berlin.[69] They thought they would protect themselves in this way against the ulcer of Bolshevism, which now spreads over the whole of Germany in the shape of a strengthened labour movement. The victory we won in compelling the evacuation of the British and French troops was the greatest of our victories over the Entente countries. We deprived them of their soldiers. Our response to the unlimited military and technical superiority of the Entente countries was to deprive them of it through the solidarity of the working people against the imperialist governments.

This revealed how superficial and uncertain it is to judge these so-called democratic countries by accepted criteria. Their parliaments have stable bourgeois majorities. This they call "democracy". Capital dominates and weighs down everything and they still resort to military censorship. And they call that "democracy". Among the millions of copies of their newspapers and magazines you would be hard put to find any but an insignificant few that contain even a hint of anything favourable about the Bolsheviks. That is why they say: "We are protected against the Bolsheviks, there is order in our countries", and they call it "democracy". How could it happen that a small section of British soldiers and French sailors were able to compel the withdrawal of the Entente troops from Russia? There is something wrong here. It means that even in Britain, France and America the mass of the people are for us; it means that all these external features, as socialists who refuse to betray socialism have always asserted, are a deception; it means that the bourgeois parliamentary system, bourgeois democracy, bourgeois freedom of the press are merely freedom for the capitalists, freedom to bribe public opinion, to exert pressure on it by all the power of money. That is what socialists always said until the imperialist war scattered them to their national camps and turned each national group of socialists into

lackeys of their own bourgeoisie. That was said by socialists before the war, that was always said by the internationalists and Bolsheviks during the war—and it all proved to be absolutely correct. All the external features, all the window-dressings, are a fraud; and this is becoming increasingly obvious to the people. They all shout about democracy, but in no parliament in the world did they dare to say that they were declaring war on Soviet Russia. That is why we read in the numerous French, British and American publications now available the proposal to "place the heads of state in the dock for having violated the Constitution, for waging war on Russia without declaring war". When and where was it sanctioned, what article of the Constitution, what parliament sanctioned it? Where did they gather their parliamentary representatives together, even after taking the precaution to imprison all Bolsheviks and near-Bolsheviks, to use the expression of the French press? Even under those conditions they did not dare to state in their parliaments that they were fighting Russia. That was why the splendidly armed, previously undefeated troops of Britain and France were unable to defeat us and departed from Archangel Region in the North, and from the South.

That was our first and chief victory, because it was not only a military victory, it was not really a military victory at all—it was actually a victory of that international solidarity of the working people for which we began the whole revolution, and which we pointed to and said that, however numerous the trials we would have to undergo, all these sacrifices would be repaid a hundredfold by the development of the world revolution, which is inevitable. It was apparent from the fact that in the sphere where the grossest material factors play the greatest part, namely, in the military sphere, we defeated the Entente countries by depriving them of the workers and peasants in soldiers' uniforms.

The first victory was followed by the second period of Entente intervention in our affairs. Each nation is headed by a group of politicians who possess wonderful experience, and that is why, after losing this stake, they placed another, taking advantage of their dominant position in the world. There is not a single country, not a single bit of the earth's surface, which is not in fact totally dominated by British,

French and American finance capital. That was the basis for the new attempt they made, namely, to compel the small countries surrounding Russia, many of which had been liberated and had been able to declare themselves independent only during the war—Poland, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, the Ukraine, etc.—to compel these small states to go to war against Russia on British, French and American money.

You may remember, comrades, that our newspapers reported a speech by Churchill, the well-known British Cabinet Minister, in which he said that 14 states would attack Russia and that September would see the fall of Petrograd, and December that of Moscow. I heard that Churchill then disclaimed this report, but it was taken from the Swedish *Folkets Dagblad—Politiken* of August 25. But even if this source proved unreliable we know full well that Churchill and the British imperialists acted precisely in this way. We are perfectly well aware that everything was done to exert pressure on Finland, Estonia and other small countries, in order to persuade them to wage war on Soviet Russia. I happened to read a leading article in *The Times*, the most influential bourgeois newspaper in Britain, a leader written when Yudenich's troops, obviously supplied, equipped and conveyed on board Entente transports, were a few versts from Petrograd, and Detskoye Selo had been taken. The article was a veritable onslaught, in which the maximum pressure was exerted—military, diplomatic and historical. British capital flung itself on Finland and faced her with an ultimatum: The eyes of the whole world are on Finland, said the British capitalists, the entire fate of Finland depends on whether she understands her role, whether she will help to crush the filthy, dirty, bloody wave of Bolshevism and liberate Russia. And in return for this "great and moral" work, for this "noble, civilised" work, Finland was promised so many million pounds, such-and-such a piece of territory, and such-and-such benefits. And what was the result? There was a time when Yudenich's troops were a few versts away from Petrograd, when Denikin stood to the north of Orel, when the slightest assistance to them would have quickly settled the fate of Petrograd to the advantage of our enemies, in a minimum of time and at negligible cost.

The entire pressure of the Entente countries was brought to bear on Finland, a country that is up to its neck in debt to them. And not only in debt: Finland cannot carry on for one month without the aid of these countries. But how did the "miracle" of our having won the battle against such an enemy happen? And win it we did. Finland did not enter the war, Yudenich was defeated, so was Denikin, and that at a time when joint action by them would most surely, most swiftly have settled the whole struggle to the advantage of international capitalism. We won the battle with international imperialism in this most serious and desperate trial of strength. But how did we do it? How could such a "miracle" have taken place? It took place because the Entente backed the same card as all capitalist states, which operate wholly and solely by deception and pressure; that was why everything they did aroused such resistance that the result was to our advantage. We were very poorly armed, worn out, and we said to the Finnish workers, whom the Finnish bourgeoisie had crushed, "You must not fight against us." The Entente countries appeared strong in their armaments, with all their outward might, with the food they were in a position to supply to these countries, and demanded that they fight against us. We won this battle. We won because the Entente countries had no troops of their own to fling against us, they had to resort to the forces of the small nations, but here, not only the workers and peasants, but even the considerable section of that very bourgeoisie that had crushed the working class did not in the end go against us.

When the Entente imperialists spoke of democracy and independence, these nations had the impudence from the Entente viewpoint, and foolishness from our viewpoint, to take these promises seriously and to understand independence as really implying independence, and not a means of enriching the British and French capitalists. They thought that democracy meant living as free men, and not that all American multimillionaires would be able to plunder their country, or that every tinpot aristocrat of an officer should be able to behave like a swine and turn into a brazen blackmarketeer prepared, for the sake of a few hundred per cent profit, to do the filthiest of jobs. That was how we won! The Entente encountered opposition to its pressure on these

small countries, on each of these 14 countries. The Finnish bourgeoisie who employed White Terror to crush tens of thousands of Finnish workers know that this will not be forgotten, and that the German bayonets that made it possible no longer exist—these Finnish bourgeois hate the Bolsheviks as intensely as an exploiter would hate the workers who kicked him out. Nevertheless the Finnish bourgeoisie said to themselves, "If we follow the instructions of the Entente, that means we shall undoubtedly lose all hope of independence." And this independence was given to them by the Bolsheviks in November 1917, when Finland had a bourgeois government. The attitude of wide sections of the Finnish bourgeoisie, therefore, proved to be one of vacillation. We won the battle with the Entente countries because they counted on the small nations and at the same time repelled them.

This experience confirms, on an enormous, global scale, what we have always said. There are two forces on earth that can decide the destiny of mankind. One force is international capitalism, and should it be victorious it will display this force in countless atrocities as may be seen from the history of every small nation's development. The other force is the international proletariat that is fighting for the socialist revolution through the dictatorship of the proletariat, which it calls workers' democracy. Neither the vacillating elements here in Russia, nor the bourgeoisie of the small countries believed us; they called us utopians or bandits or even worse, for there is no stupid and monstrous accusation that they will not fling at us. But when they faced up squarely to the issue of either going with the Entente countries and helping them to crush the Bolsheviks, or of helping the Bolsheviks by neutrality, we proved to have won the battle and to have got that neutrality. We had no treaties, whereas Britain, France and America had all sorts of promissory notes, all sorts of treaties; nevertheless the small nations did as we wanted them to; they did so not because the Polish, Finnish, Lithuanian or Latvian bourgeoisie derived satisfaction from conducting their policy in a way that suited the Bolsheviks—that, of course, is nonsense—but because our definition of the historical forces involved was correct, namely, that either brute capital would be

victorious, and then, even if it were in the most democratic republic, it would crush all the small nations of the world—or the dictatorship of the proletariat would be victorious, which is the sole hope of all working people and of the small, downtrodden and weak nations. It turned out that we were right not only in theory, but also in practical world politics. When this battle for the troops of Finland and Estonia took place we won it, although they could have crushed us with insignificant forces. We won the battle despite the Entente countries having thrown the enormous weight of their financial pressure, their military might, and their food supplies into the fray in order to compel Finland to take action.

That, comrades, was the second stage of international intervention, our second historic victory. First, we won the workers and peasants away from Britain, France and America. These troops could not fight against us. Secondly, we won away from them these small countries, all of which are against us, and in which not Soviet, but bourgeois rule dominates. They displayed friendly neutrality towards us and acted contrary to the desires of that mighty world force, the Entente, for it was a beast that wanted to crush them.

We witness here on a world scale the same thing that happened to the Siberian peasants, who believed in the Constituent Assembly and helped the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks to join forces with Kolchak and to strike at us. When they learned to their own cost that Kolchak represented the dictatorship of the very worst exploiters, a plunderous dictatorship of landowners and capitalists which was worse than that of the tsar, they organised the tremendous number of revolts in Siberia about which comrades have given us reliable information, and which now guarantee the complete return to us of Siberia, this time politically conscious. What happened to the Siberian peasant, with all his backwardness and political ignorance, has now happened on a broader scale, on a world scale, to all the small nations. They hated the Bolsheviks; some of them had suppressed the Bolsheviks with a bloody hand, with furious White Terror, but when they saw their "liberators", the British officers, they understood the meaning of British and American "democracy". When representatives of the British and American bourgeoisie appeared in Finland and Estonia, the acts of

suppression they began were more brazen than those of the Russian imperialists had been, because the Russian imperialists had belonged to an older period and did not know how to suppress properly, whereas these people do know, and go about it thoroughly.

That is why this victory at the second stage is a far more lasting one than is apparent at the moment. I am not exaggerating at all, and consider exaggerations to be extremely dangerous. I have not the slightest doubt that further attempts will be made by the Entente to set against us now one, now another of the small states that are our neighbours. Such attempts will occur because the small states are wholly dependent on the Entente, because all this talk about freedom, independence and democracy is sheer hypocrisy, and the Entente may compel them once again to raise their hand against us. But if this attempt was foiled at such a convenient moment when it was so easy to wage a struggle against us, we may, I think, say definitely that in this respect the main difficulty is undoubtedly behind us. We are entitled to say this, and to say it without the slightest exaggeration, fully conscious that the Entente countries possess a tremendous advantage in strength. We have won a lasting victory. Attempts will be made against us, but we shall defeat them with greater ease, because the small states, despite their bourgeois system, have become convinced by experience, not theory—these gentlemen are theory-proof—that the Entente is a more brazen and predatory brute than the one they have in their minds when they think of the Bolsheviks, the bogey used to scare children and cultured philistines all over Europe.

But our victories were not limited to this. In the first place we won over to our side the workers and peasants of the Entente countries; secondly, we gained the neutrality of the small nations under the Entente's domination and, thirdly, we began to win over, within the Entente countries, the petty bourgeoisie and educated townsfolk who had been completely opposed to us. To prove this I will quote the newspaper *l'Humanité* of October 26 which I have here. This newspaper has always belonged to the Second International, was rabidly chauvinistic during the war, adhered to the viewpoint of socialists similar to our Mensheviks and Right

Socialist-Revolutionaries, and still plays the role of a conciliator; it now announces that it has become convinced of a change in mood among the workers. The paper did not see this in Odessa but on the streets and at meetings in Paris, when the workers stopped everyone who dared say a word against Bolshevik Russia. As politicians who have learned a fair amount during the course of several revolutions, as persons who understand what sort of force the people are, they dare not say a word in favour of intervention, and are all speaking against it. Moreover, it is not only the socialists who say this (they call themselves socialists, but for a long time we have been aware what sort of socialists they are); the same issue of *l'Humanité* of October 26, which I quoted, contains a statement by a large number of French intellectuals, representative of French public opinion. The signatories to this statement are headed by Anatole France and include Ferdinand Buisson; altogether I counted the names of 71 bourgeois intellectuals famed throughout France, who state that they are against intervention in Russia's affairs, because the blockade of Russia, the attempt to starve her out from which children and the aged are perishing, cannot be tolerated—it is incompatible with culture and civilisation. The well-known French historian Aulard, who supports the bourgeois point of view in full, writes in his letter, "As a Frenchman I am an enemy of the Bolsheviks, as a Frenchman I support democracy, it is ridiculous to suspect me of the contrary, but when I read that France has invited Germany to participate in the blockade of Russia, when I read that France has approached Germany with this proposal—then I feel myself blushing with shame." It may be that this is just an expression of an intellectual's feelings but we are justified in saying that this is our third victory, a victory over imperialist France within the country itself. Such is the implication of this statement, feeble and pathetic as it is, the statement of intellectuals whose bark, as we know from hundreds of examples, is far worse than their bite, but who serve as a good barometer, an indicator of the trend developing amongst the petty bourgeoisie, of the way in which public opinion is reacting, permeated as it is with bourgeois sentiment. If we have achieved such results within France herself, where all the bourgeois papers write about

us only in the most lying terms, then we say to ourselves: it looks as if a second Dreyfus case[70] is beginning in France, only on a much larger scale. At that time the bourgeois intellectuals fought against clerical and military reactionaries, while the working class could not consider it their business, as the objective conditions were absent, the deep revolutionary feeling of today did not then exist. And now? If, after the recent electoral victory of the most rabid reactionaries and in the face of a regime hostile to the Bolsheviks, the French bourgeois intellectuals say that they are ashamed of the alliance between reactionary France and reactionary Germany for the purpose of starving out the workers and peasants of Russia, then we can say to ourselves that this is the third and greatest of our victories. And I should like to see how, with this situation within the country, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson will carry out the plan of fresh attacks on Russia they dream of. Just try it, gentlemen! (*Applause.*)

Comrades, I repeat that it would be a great mistake to jump to hasty conclusions because of all this. There can be no doubt that the imperialists will resume their attempts, but we are absolutely confident that these attempts, no matter by what powerful forces they may be undertaken, will end in failure. We can say that the Civil War which we conducted with such tremendous sacrifices has ended in victory. It has been victorious, not only on a Russian scale, but on a world-historical scale. Every argument I have presented to you has been based on the results of the military campaign. That is why, I repeat, new attempts are doomed to failure because the imperialists have become much weaker and we have become much stronger after our victory over Kolchak, over Yudenich, and when there are signs that the victory over Denikin, now in its early stages, is imminent. Did not Kolchak have the aid of the all-powerful Entente? Did not the peasants of the Urals and Siberia, who returned the smallest number of Bolsheviks to the Constituent Assembly, solidly support the Constituent Assembly front, which at that time was the front of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries? Were not they the best human material against the Communists? Is it not a fact that Siberia was a country with no landed estates and where we were not immediately

able to assist the mass of peasants in the same way as we were able to help all other Russian peasants? What did Kolchak lack to defeat us? He lacked what all imperialists lack. He remained an exploiter and had to act in the backwash of a world war, in circumstances in which he could only babble about democracy and freedom, but which made possible one of two dictatorships—either the dictatorship of the exploiters which frenziedly defends their privileges and insists on payment of interest on the bills, whereby they wish to squeeze millions out of all peoples, or the dictatorship of the workers which fights the power of the capitalists and wishes to establish firmly the power of the working people. It was only because of this that Kolchak came to grief. It was in this way—not by voting, which is, of course, in certain circumstances not a bad way—that the Siberian and Ural peasants actually determined their destiny. In the summer of 1918 they were dissatisfied with the Bolsheviks. They saw that the Bolsheviks forced them to sell their surplus grain at a non-speculative price and so they turned to Kolchak. Now the peasant has seen, compared and arrived at a different conclusion. Despite all he was taught in the past, he has understood, because he has learned from his own experience what many Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks do not want to understand from theory (*applause*)—that there must be one of two dictatorships, that he must choose either the dictatorship of the workers—and this means to assist all working people to throw off the yoke of the exploiters—or the dictatorship of the exploiters. We have won the peasants to our side, we have proved in practice through the most bitter experience, through unprecedented difficulties that we, as representatives of the working class, can give the peasants better and more successful leadership than any other party. Other parties like to accuse us of carrying on a struggle against the peasants, of being unable to arrive at a proper agreement with them, and they all offer their kind and noble services to reconcile us with the peasants. We are most grateful to you, gentlemen, but we do not think that you will manage it. We, at any rate, showed long ago that we were able to do this. We did not paint the peasant rosy pictures that told him he would be able to make the transition from capitalist society without iron discipline and

the firm rule of the working class; or that merely gathering votes would decide the world-historical problem of the struggle against capital. We said openly that dictatorship is a harsh, severe and even bloody word, but we said that the dictatorship of the workers will ensure the end of the yoke of the exploiters, and we proved to be correct. The peasant, having experienced both dictatorships, chose the dictatorship of the working class, and will go forward with it to complete victory. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, from what I have said about our international successes it follows—and, I think, it is not necessary to dwell at length on this—that we must repeat our peace proposal in a manner that is calm and business-like to the maximum degree. We must do this because it is a proposal we have made many times, and each time we gained something in the eyes of every educated man, even if he was our enemy, that made him blush with shame. That was the case when Bullitt came here, was received by Comrade Chicherin, talked with him and with me, and when we concluded a preliminary agreement on peace in the course of a few hours. And he assured us (those gentlemen like to boast) that America is everything, and who would worry about France in face of America's strength? But when we signed the agreement the French and British ministers did this. (*Lenin makes an expressive gesture with his foot. Laughter.*) Bullitt was left with a useless piece of paper and he was told, "Who would have thought you were naïve and foolish enough to believe in the democracy of Britain and France?" (*Applause.*) The result is that in the same issue I read the full text of the agreement with Bullitt in French[71]—and it was published in all the British and American newspapers. The result is that they are showing themselves to the whole world to be either rogues or infants—let them take their choice! (*Applause.*) All the sympathies even of the petty bourgeoisie, even of those bourgeois who have any sort of an education and who recall how they once fought their own tsars and kings, are on our side, because we signed the hardest possible peace terms in a business-like manner and said, "The price of the blood of our workers and soldiers is too high for us; we shall pay you businessmen a heavy tribute as the price of peace; we consent to a heavy tribute to preserve the

lives of our workers and peasants." That is why I think there is no reason for us to dwell long on this, and in conclusion I shall read a draft resolution that will express, in the name of the Congress of Soviets, our unwavering desire to pursue a policy of peace. (*Applause.*)

Now I wish to pass from the international and military to the political section of the report.

We have gained three tremendous victories over the Entente, and they were not only military victories. They were victories achieved by the dictatorship of the working class, and each victory strengthened our position, and not only because it weakened our enemy and lost him his troops; our international position was strengthened because on each occasion we won out in the eyes of all working people and even of many bourgeois. In this connection, the victories which we won over Kolchak and Yudenich, and are now winning over Denikin, will make it possible in the future to gain much greater sympathy by peaceful means.

We have always been accused of terrorism. This is a favourite accusation that is never absent from the columns of the press. We are accused of making terrorism a principle. To this we reply, "You yourselves do not believe this slander." The historian Aulard, who sent a letter to *l'Humanité*, writes, "I have studied history and taught it. When I read that the Bolsheviks are freaks, monsters and scarecrows, I say that the same things were written about Robespierre and Danton. By no means do I compare these great men to the present Russians, nothing of the sort, there is absolutely no resemblance between them. But I say as a historian that you must not believe every rumour." When a bourgeois historian begins speaking in this way we see that the lie being spread about us is fizzling out. We say that terror was thrust upon us. They forget that terror was provoked by the attack of the all-powerful Entente. Is it not terror for the world's fleet to blockade a starving country? Is it not terror for foreign representatives, relying on their so-called diplomatic immunity, to organise whiteguard insurrection? You must, after all, take something of a sober view of things. It must be realised that international imperialism has staked everything on suppressing the revolution, that it stops at nothing, and says, "For one officer—one Communist, and we

shall will." And they are right. If we had attempted to influence these troops, brought into being by international banditry and brutalised by war—if we had attempted to influence them by words and persuasion or by any means other than terror, we would not have held out for even two months and we would have been fools. The terror was forced on us by the terror of the Entente, the terror of mighty world capitalism which has been throttling the workers and peasants, and is condemning them to death by starvation because they are fighting for their country's freedom. Our every victory over this prime cause of and reason for the terror will inevitably and invariably mean that we shall be able to run the country without this method of persuasion and influence.

What we say about terrorism also applies to our attitude towards all waverers. We are accused of having created extraordinarily difficult conditions for the middle sections of the population, for the bourgeois intellectuals. We reply that the imperialist war was a continuation of the imperialist politics and for this reason it led to revolution. During the imperialist war everyone felt that the war was being conducted by the bourgeoisie in their own selfish interests, that in this war the people died while the bourgeoisie profited. Profit is the basic motive behind the policy of the bourgeoisie in all countries, and it is ruining them and will seal their fate. Our war is the continuation of the politics of revolution, and every worker and peasant knows (and if he does not know, then he instinctively feels and sees) that this is a war of defence against the exploiters, a war demanding the greatest sacrifices from the workers and peasants, but which stops at nothing in order to ensure that these sacrifices are also borne by the other classes. We know that it is more difficult for them than it is for the workers and peasants, because they formerly belonged to a privileged class. But we say that when it is a case of freeing millions of working people from exploitation, a government that did not make other classes bear the burden would not be a socialist government but a traitor government. We have burdened the middle classes because we have been placed in extraordinarily difficult conditions by the Entente governments. Every step in our victories—as we see it from the experience of our

revolution, though I cannot deal with this in detail—is characterised by the fact that through all the waverings and innumerable attempts to return to the past, more and more waverers are becoming convinced that the only real choice is between the dictatorship of the working people and the rule of the exploiters. If these waverers have had a hard time, it is not the fault of the Bolshevik government, but the fault of the whiteguards, the fault of the Entente; a victory over them will be a real and sound condition for improving the lot of all these classes. In this connection, comrades, I should like, in passing on to the lessons of the political experience inside the country, to say a few words about the significance of the war.

Our war is the continuation of the politics of revolution, the politics of overthrowing the exploiters, capitalists and landowners. The workers and peasants are therefore drawn to our side despite the infinite gravity of our war. War is not only a continuation of politics, it is the epitome of politics; this unprecedentedly difficult war which the landowners and capitalists have brought down on us with the aid of the mighty Entente is political education. The workers and peasants have learned a great deal during this ordeal. The workers have learned how to use state power, and how to utilise every step for propaganda and education, how to make the Red Army, consisting mainly of peasants, an instrument for their education, how to make it an instrument for the employment of bourgeois specialists. We know that in their overwhelming majority these bourgeois specialists are, and must be, against us because of their class character; we need have no doubts on this score. Hundreds and thousands of these specialists have betrayed us, and tells of thousands have come to serve us more faithfully, drawn to us in the course of the struggle itself because that revolutionary enthusiasm which did wonders in the Red Army came from our having served and satisfied the interests of the workers and peasants. This situation, in which masses of workers and peasants act in harmony and know what they are fighting for, has had its effect, and still larger and larger sections of the people who came over to our side from the other camp, some of them unknowingly, have turned and are turning into our conscious supporters.

Comrades, the task which now confronts us is to transfer our war-time experience to the sphere of peaceful construction. There is nothing which gives us so much pleasure or provides us with such an opportunity of greeting the Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets as the turning-point in the history of Soviet Russia, as the fact that the main period of the civil wars we have been fighting lies behind us, and that ahead of us lies the main period of peaceful construction which means so much to all of us, which we desire, which we must carry out and to which we shall dedicate all our energies and our whole lives. We can now say, on the basis of the severe ordeals of the war, that in the main, in the military and in the international sphere, we have been victorious. The path of peaceful construction opens up before us. We have, of course, to remember that the enemy is always watching every step we take and will make many more attempts to overthrow us by all the means in his power—force, fraud, bribery, conspiracies, etc. Our task is to direct all the experience gained in war towards the solution of the main problems of peaceful construction which I shall now enumerate. First and foremost there is *the question of food supplies*, *the question of grain*.

We have pursued a most difficult struggle against prejudices and old customs. On the one hand, the peasant is a working man, who for decades suffered the oppression of the landowner and the capitalist; with the instinct of the oppressed man he knows that they are beasts who will walk through seas of blood to regain their power. On the other hand, the peasant is a proprietor. He wants to sell his grain freely, he wants "freedom of trade", he does not understand that the free sale of grain in a starving country means freedom to profiteer, freedom for the rich to make profits. And we say that we shall never agree to this, all of us would sooner die than make this concession.

We know that in this case we conduct a policy whereby the workers persuade the peasants to loan them grain, because the piece of paper the peasants receive in return is not the equivalent of the grain's value. The peasant sells us grain at fixed prices but does not receive goods in return because we have none; instead he receives a piece of coloured paper. He is giving us the grain as a loan and we say to him "If

you are a working man, can you deny that this is fair? How can you not agree that it is essential to loan the existing grain surpluses at fixed prices and not to dispose of them by profiteering, which means a return to capitalism, a return to exploitation, to all that we have fought against?" It was extremely difficult to do this, and we hesitated a good deal. We have taken many steps gropingly and continue to do so but we have gained some fundamental experience. When you hear the report of Comrade Tsyurupa or of others concerned with food supplies you will see that when the government says to the peasants they must loan their grain they are becoming accustomed to this system of requisitioning, for we have information from a number of volosts of its 100 per cent fulfilment. Although the successes are meagre, they are nevertheless successes, and our food supply policy enables the peasants to understand more and more clearly—if you want free sale of grain in a ruined country, go back, try out Kolchak and Denikin! We shall fight against this to the last drop of blood. There can be no concessions in this matter. On this fundamental question, the question of grain, we shall fight with all our might to prevent profiteering, to ensure that the sale of grain does not enrich the already rich, and that all grain surpluses raised on state land by the efforts of generations of working people become the property of the state and that now, when the state is impoverished, these surpluses should be loaned by the peasants to the workers' state. If the peasant does this, we shall emerge from all our difficulties, we shall rehabilitate industry, and the worker will repay his debt to the peasant a hundredfold. He, the worker, will guarantee the peasant and his children a livelihood without their having to work for the landowner and the capitalist. That is what we tell the peasant, and he is becoming convinced there is no alternative. The peasant is being convinced of this, not so much by us, as by our enemies, Kolchak and Denikin. They, more than anybody else, are giving the peasant practical lessons in living and sending him to our side.

However, comrades, after the problem of grain comes the second *question—that of fuel*. At the moment sufficient stocks of grain have been collected in the grain-growing regions to feed the starving workers of Petrograd and Moscow.

But if you walk through the workers' districts of Moscow you will find them in the grip of the most frightful cold, terrible privations intensified by the fuel problem. Here we are suffering from a desperate crisis, we are lagging behind requirements. Recently a number of meetings of the Council of Defence and the Council of People's Commissars were devoted entirely to the elaboration of measures to solve the fuel crisis. Comrade Ksandrov has supplied me with figures for my speech which show that we have begun to emerge from this desperate crisis. At the beginning of October 16,000 railway trucks were loaded in a week; by the end of October this figure had dropped to 10,000 a week. This was a crisis, a catastrophe; it meant hunger for the workers of a whole number of factories in Moscow, Petrograd and many other places. The results of this catastrophe are still being felt. And then we came to grips with the problem, bent all our energies on solving it, and did the same as we had done in military matters. We said that all politically-conscious people must throw their full weight into solving the fuel problem, not in the old, capitalist way, when the profiteers were given a bonus and enriched themselves on contracts—no, we said, solve this problem in a socialist way, by self-sacrifice; solve this problem in the same way as we saved Red Petrograd, liberated Siberia, the way we gained victory in all those difficult moments, in the face of all the difficult problems of the revolution, the way that will always bring us victory. We have advanced from loading 12,000 trucks in the last week of October and now load 20,000. We are emerging from this catastrophe, but we are far from having solved the problem. It is essential that all workers know and bear in mind that without bread for the people, without bread for industry, that is, without fuel, the country is doomed to calamity. And this applies not only to us. Today's newspapers carry the news that in France, a victor country, the railways are grinding to a halt. What can you expect of Russia? France will crawl out of the crisis the capitalist way, that is, through the enrichment of the capitalists and the continued deprivation of the people. Soviet Russia will emerge from the crisis through the discipline and devotion of the workers, through a firm attitude towards the peasants, that firm attitude which, in the final analysis, the peasant

can always understand. The peasant is learning from experience that no matter how difficult the transition, no matter how firm the state rule of the workers, it is the rule of the working man who is fighting for the alliance of the working people, for the complete abolition of all exploitation.

A third scourge is assailing us, *lice*, and the *typhus* that is mowing down our troops. Comrades, it is impossible to imagine the dreadful situation in the typhus regions, where the population is broken, weakened, without material resources, where all life, all public life ceases. To this we say, "Comrades, we must concentrate everything on this problem. *Either the lice will defeat socialism, or socialism will defeat the lice!*" And here too, comrades, by using the same methods as elsewhere, we are beginning to achieve success. There are still some doctors, of course, who hold preconceived notions and have no faith in workers' rule, who prefer to draw fees from the rich rather than fight the hard battle against typhus. But these are a minority, they are becoming fewer, and the majority see that the people are struggling for their very existence, they realise that by their struggle the people desire to solve the fundamental question of preserving civilisation. These doctors are behaving in this arduous and difficult matter with no less devotion than the military specialists. They are willing to put themselves at the service of the working people. I must say that we are beginning to emerge also from this crisis. Comrade Semashko has given me some information about this work. According to news from the front, 122 doctors and 467 assistants had arrived at the front by October 1. One hundred and fifty doctors have been sent from Moscow. We have reason to believe that by December 15 another 800 doctors will have arrived at the front to help in the battle against typhus. We must pay great attention to this affliction.

We must concentrate on consolidating our foundation—grain, fuel, and the battle against typhus. I particularly wish to mention these matters because a certain lack of co-ordination has been noted in our socialist construction, and understandably so. When people have decided to transform the whole world, it is only natural that inexperienced workers and inexperienced peasants should be drawn into this work. There can be no doubt that a considerable period

must elapse before we are able to determine where our chief attention should be concentrated. It is not surprising that such great historical tasks frequently give rise to great visions, which develop side by side with many small, unsuccessful dreams. There have been many instances when we wanted to build a house from above, starting from a small upper wing, a cornice, but paid no real attention to the foundations. I must tell you that from my own experience, from my observations of the work being performed, it is my opinion that the essential task for our policy is to lay that foundation. It is necessary for every worker, every organisation, every institution to bear this in mind at every meeting. If we are able to supply grain, if we succeed in increasing the fuel supply, if we devote all our efforts to wiping out typhus in Russia—the typhus which comes from a lack of culture, from poverty, backwardness and ignorance—if we devote to this bloodless war all the strength and experience gained in a bloody war we can be certain that we shall achieve ever greater successes in this work, which is, after all, much easier and much more humane than a war.

We have carried out military mobilisation. The parties which were our most uncompromising opponents, which to a far greater extent than others supported and still support the ideas of capitalism (the Socialist-Revolutionaries, for instance), have had to recognise, despite all the accusations rained on us by the bourgeois imperialists, that the Red Army has become a people's army. This indicates that in this most difficult task we have achieved the alliance of the working class with the great mass of peasants who are coming over to the side of the working class, and we have, by this means, shown the peasants what is meant by the leadership of the working class.

The words "dictatorship of the proletariat" frighten the peasants. In Russia it was a bogey for the peasants but these words now recoil on the heads of people who try to use them as a bogey. The peasants now realise that, while the words "dictatorship of the proletariat" are perhaps too fancy Latin words, in practice they stand for that selfsame Soviet power which transfers the stale apparatus to the workers. This being the case, the dictatorship is the true friend and ally of the working people and the merciless enemy of any form

of exploitation. That is why we shall ultimately defeat all imperialists, for we possess a profound source of strength, a deep and extensive reservoir of human material, such as has never been accessible to any bourgeois government and never will be. We possess the material from which we can draw ever greater and more profound strength starting from the most advanced workers and continuing with average workers, and even lower down the scale, with labouring peasants, poor and greatly impoverished peasants. The Petrograd comrades have recently said that Petrograd has given up all its workers and can supply no more. But when a critical hour struck, Petrograd showed itself to be remarkable, as Comrade Zinoviev justly said, it proved to be a town that seemed able to give birth to new forces. Workers, who had no experience in politics or government, who were considered below the average in political consciousness, drew themselves up to their full stature, provided the huge forces for propaganda, agitation, organisation, and performed new miracles. We still have a great deal of this source of new miracles. Every new section of workers and peasants that has not yet been drawn into our work is, nevertheless, our true friend and ally. At the present moment we frequently have to rely on a very small section of leading workers in government work. In the course of our Party work and our Soviet practice we must approach non-party people, non-party workers and peasants, more boldly, approach them again and again, not for the purpose of winning them over to our side immediately, or of drawing them into the Party—that is not so important for us—but of making them understand that their help is needed to save the country. When those whom the landowners and capitalists least of all permitted to participate in running the state are brought to realise that we are calling on them to join us in building the solid foundation for the Socialist Republic our cause will be really invincible.

That is why, on the basis of two years' experience, we can say to you with absolute certainty that every one of our military victories will greatly hasten the approach of the time—now very near—when we can devote the whole of our energy to peaceful construction. On the basis of experience gained, we can guarantee that in the next few years we shall

perform even greater miracles in peaceful construction than we did in the two years of victorious war against the all-powerful Entente. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, in conclusion, allow me to read to you the draft of a motion which I now put before you.

"The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic wishes to live in peace with all peoples and devote all its efforts to internal development in order to establish the smooth running of production, transport and government affairs on the basis of the Soviet system; this has so far been prevented by the intervention of the Entente and the starvation blockade.

"The workers' and peasants' government has made frequent peace proposals to the Entente powers—the message from the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to the American representative, Mr. Poole, on August 5, 1918; to President Wilson on October 24, 1918; to all Entente governments through representatives of neutral countries on November 3, 1918, a message from the Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets on November 7, 1918; Litvinov's Note in Stockholm to all Entente representatives on December 23, 1918; then there were the messages of January 12, January 17 and February 4, 1919, and the draft treaty drawn up jointly with Bullitt on March 12, 1919; and a message through Nansen on May 7, 1919.

"The Seventh Congress of Soviets fully approves these many steps taken by the Council of People's Commissars and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, once more confirms its unwavering desire for peace and again proposes to the Entente powers, Britain, France, the United States of America, Italy and Japan, individually and collectively, to begin immediately negotiations on peace; the Congress instructs the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to continue this peace policy systematically, taking all appropriate measures to ensure its success."

2

CONCLUDING SPEECH ON THE REPORT OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS DECEMBER 6

(*Voices*: "Long live Comrade Lenin! Hurrah!" *Applause*.) Comrades, it seems to me that in his speech and by his declaration, Martov has managed to give us an extraordinarily fine sample of the attitude towards Soviet power of the groups and parties that formerly belonged, and still belong, to the Second International, and against which we have now founded the Communist International. The difference between Martov's speech and his declaration must have struck each one of you—the difference that Comrade Sosnovsky stressed in the remark he shouted to Martov from the presidium, "Isn't that last year's declaration you have?" Martov's speech, indeed, most certainly belongs to 1919, to the end of that year, but his declaration is so compiled that it contains a complete repetition of what was said in 1918. (*Applause*.) And when Martov replied to Sosnovsky by saying that the declaration was "for all eternity" I was quite ready to take the Mensheviks under my wing and defend them from Martov. (*Applause. Laughter*.) I, comrades, have watched the development and activities of the Mensheviks, probably longer and more attentively—which has by no means been pleasant—than anybody else. On the basis of this fifteen years of study I assert that the declaration, far from being "for all eternity", will not last a single year (*applause*), because the entire development of the Mensheviks, especially in a great period such as has begun in the history of the

Russian revolution, reveals the greatest vacillation among them and, taken by and large, this boils down to their parting company with the bourgeoisie and their prejudices, only with the greatest difficulty and against their own will. A number of times they have fought shy of the dictatorship of the proletariat but they are now beginning to approach it—to approach it very slowly but very surely—and I am certain that in another year they will take a few more steps. And then it will be impossible to repeat that declaration, because if you remove its envelope of general democratic phrases and parliamentary expressions that would do credit to the leader of a parliamentary opposition, if you cast aside those speeches that so many people like but which we find boring, and get down to the real root of the matter, then the entire declaration says "Back to bourgeois democracy" and nothing more. (*Applause.*) And when we hear people who profess sympathy with us making such declarations we say to ourselves, "Yes, the terror and the Cheka[72] are absolutely indispensable." (*Applause.*)

Comrades, so that you will not now accuse me, and so that nobody will be able to accuse me, of picking holes in that declaration, I assert, on the basis of political facts, that a Right Menshevik and a Right Socialist-Revolutionary would readily subscribe to it with both hands. I have proof of this. The Council of the Party of Right Socialist-Revolutionaries from which Volsky and his group had to break away—Volsky is the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly Committee, you heard him speak here—the Council of the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries which met this year has resolved that they wish to merge with the Menshevik Party which they consider close to them. Why? Because Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, who support Mensheviks whose declaration is construed throughout on the same principles as that of the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, stand behind the printing of the things that are in the declaration and in Menshevik publications (which are supposed to be purely theoretical and which we are wrong in prohibiting, as the Bund[73] representative said when she complained that the country does not enjoy full freedom of the press). At that time, after a long struggle, Volsky's group had to break away. That is the mess which shows quite clearly that the matter

is not one of our cavilling at the Mensheviks but of the real state of affairs—this is shown by the Socialist-Revolutionary minority group. Here, quite rightly, the Menshevik Rozanov was mentioned, whom Martov and the party would probably have expelled—and it is this declaration the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks subscribe to.

This means that until now there are two different trends among them—one of them is sorry, weeps, condoles and wishes to return to democracy theoretically, while the other acts. And Martov was wrong in saying I was trying to justify myself on the question of terrorism. That one expression alone shows how infinitely far the views of the petty-bourgeois democrats are from ours and how close they are to those of the Second International. Actually there is nothing at all socialist in them, but the exact opposite. Now that socialism is near, old bourgeois views are again being preached to us. I did not try to justify myself, I spoke about a special party, a party that has been created by the war, a party of officers who were in command throughout the imperialist war, who have come to the fore in this war and who know what real politics are. When we are told "You must either abolish your Cheka or organise it better" we reply, comrades, by saying that we do not claim that everything we are doing is of the best and we are ready and willing to learn without the slightest bias. But as those people who were in the Constituent Assembly want to teach us how to organise a security force against sons of landowners, against whiteguard officers, we tell them, "You were in power and fought with Kerensky against Kornilov, and you were with Kolchak, and those same whiteguards kicked you out like little children without a struggle. And after that you still say that our Cheka is badly organised!" (*Applause.*) Oh, no, our Cheka is magnificently organised. (*Applause.*) And when the conspirators in Germany now mistreat workers, when officers led by Field Marshals over there shout "Down with the Berlin government", when, over there, they can murder Communist leaders with impunity and when a crowd of whiteguards treats leaders of the Second International like children, we see clearly that this collaborationist government is nothing more than a plaything in the hands of the group of plotters. When we have this example before us, when we

are only just stepping out on to the road, these people say "You have exaggerated terror". How many weeks is it since we discovered the conspiracy in Petrograd?[74] How many weeks is it since Yudenich was a few versts from Petrograd and Denikin a few versts from Orel? Spokesmen of those wavering parties and of that wavering democracy say to us "We are glad that Yudenich and Kolchak have been defeated". I am quite willing to believe that they are glad because they know what Yudenich and Kolchak had in store for them. (*Applause.*) I do not suspect these people of insincerity. But I ask them: when the Soviet government is experiencing a difficult period and plots are being hatched by bourgeois elements and when at a critical moment we manage to lay bare these plots—do they think they are discovered accidentally? Oh, no, not accidentally. They are discovered because the plotters live among the masses, because they cannot succeed in their plots without the workers and peasants and it is there that, in the long run, they run up against people who go to that badly organised, as they said here, Cheka and say that exploiters are gathered in a certain place. (*Applause.*) And when some people come to us a short time after we have been in mortal danger and when we are faced with a conspiracy that is obvious to everyone, and tell us that the Constitution is not being observed and that the Cheka is badly organised, one may say that they have not learned any politics during the struggle against the whiteguards, they have not given any thought to their experience of Kerensky, Yudenich and Kolchak and have not been able to draw any practical conclusions from it. But since, gentlemen, you are beginning to understand that Kolchak and Denikin constitute a serious danger, that you must choose in favour of Soviet power, it is time for you to drop Martov's declaration "for all eternity". (*Laughter.*) The Constitution contains all the experience of our two years of rule, and without that rule, as I said in my speech, and nobody even tried to refute it, without it we could not have held out for two months, let alone two years. Let anyone who wishes to be at all objective about Soviet power, if only from the standpoint of an historian and not of a politician who wishes to talk to the working-class masses, act with them and influence them—let him try to refute that.

It is said that the Soviets meet rarely and are not re-elected often enough. It seems to me that such reproaches should not be answered by speeches and resolutions but by deeds. In my opinion the best answer would be for you to finish the work begun by the Soviet government of assessing how many elections to uyezd and urban Soviets there have been, how many congresses of Soviets, etc. Comrade Vladimirsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, has published material on the history of those congresses. When I saw that material I said that this is historical material that proves, among other things, that there has never been in the history of civilised nations a country that has applied proletarian democracy as widely as we have in Russia. It is said that Soviets are not re-elected often enough, that we rarely convene congresses, but I invite every delegate to apply to the relevant bodies for additional questionnaires to be distributed at this Congress on which every delegate can record on which day, month and year and in which uyezd, town or village congresses of Soviets met. If you do this simple job and each of you fills in a questionnaire of that sort you will obtain material to complement our incomplete data and which will show that in a time as difficult as war-time, when the century-old European constitutions that have become a matter of habit for the West-European people have been almost completely suspended, the Soviet Constitution is in force in the localities to a greater degree than a constitution anywhere else in the world insofar as concerns the participation of the masses in government and in the independent solution of government matters at congresses, in the Soviets and at elections. And if it is still said that this is not enough, and if there is criticism and it is asserted that "it is really a terrible crime if your Central Executive Committee has not met", well, Comrade Trotsky gave a splendid answer to the Bund representative on this score when he said that the Central Executive Committee was at the front. The representative of the Bund—that Bund which upholds the Soviet platform and for that reason might really be expected at long last to understand what the foundation of Soviet power is—said this (I wrote it down), "How strange that the Central Executive Committee was at the front, it could have sent others."

We are fighting against Kolchak, Denikin and the others—there have been a lot of them! It ends with Russian troops chasing them away like children. We are conducting a difficult and victorious war. You know that with every invasion we had to send all the members of the Central Executive Committee to the front and then we are told "How strange, they should have found others". Were we functioning outside time and space, or what? Or are we supposed to give birth to Communists (*applause*) at the rate of a few every week? That is something we cannot do; workers who have been tempered by several years of struggle and who have acquired the necessary experience to be able to lead are fewer in our country than in any other. We have to adopt all measures to train young workers, trainees, and that will take several months, years even. And when this is taking place under very difficult circumstances, we are treated to grins for our trouble. These grins only prove a complete failure to understand these conditions. It is really a ridiculous intellectualist lack of understanding, when we are compelled in these war conditions to act differently from the way we have acted up to now. We have to strain our forces to the utmost and for this reason have to give up our best officials and Central and local Executive Committee members for the front. I am sure that nobody who has any practical experience in administration will condemn us; he will, on the contrary, approve of our having done the maximum possible to reduce collegiate bodies belonging to executive committees to a minimum until, under pressure of war, only the executive committee itself was left, because the functionaries hurried to the front in the same way as they are now rushing in hundreds and thousands to engage in fuel supply work. That is the foundation without which the Soviet Republic cannot exist. And if the less frequent meetings of the Soviets for a few months is the price at which this has to be purchased, then any sensible worker or peasant will understand the need for it and will approve of it.

I have said that in respect of democracy and the democrats we are still being offered the prejudices of bourgeois democracy in their entirety. An opposition party has said here that the suppression of the bourgeoisie must be stopped. One should think of what one is saying. What does the suppression

of the bourgeoisie mean? The landowner could be suppressed and destroyed by abolishing landed proprietorship and transferring the land to the peasants. But can the bourgeoisie be suppressed and destroyed by the abolition of big capital? Anyone who knows the ABC of Marxism knows that the bourgeoisie cannot be suppressed in this way, knows that the bourgeoisie is born of commodity production; the peasant who has a surplus of hundreds of poods of grain that he does not need for his family and does not deliver to the workers' state as a loan to help the hungry worker, and profiteers under the prevailing conditions of commodity production—what is he? Is he not a bourgeois? Is the bourgeoisie not born in this way? On this issue, the grain issue, and on the question of the torments of hunger being suffered by all industrial Russia, do we get any assistance from those who reproach us with not observing the Constitution, with having suppressed the bourgeoisie? No! Do they help us in this respect? They hide behind the words "concord of the workers and peasants". That concord, of course, is necessary. We showed how we achieve it on October 26, 1917, when we took that part of the programme of the Socialist-Revolutionaries which supports the peasants and put it into operation in full. In that way we showed that the peasant who had been exploited by the landowners, who lives by his own labour and does not profiteer, finds a true protector in the worker sent to him by the central state authority. In this way we have effected concord with the peasants. When we pursue a food policy requiring that surplus grain not needed by the peasant family be given to the workers as a state loan, any objection to it supports profiteering. This still exists among the petty-bourgeois masses who are accustomed to living in the bourgeois way. This is a terrible thing, this is a danger to the social revolution! Have the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries ever done anything to help us in this respect, even the most Left of them? No, they never have! And their publications, that we are supposed to permit for the sake of "principles of liberty" and samples of which we have in our possession, show that they never by a single word—to say nothing of deeds—do anything to help us. Until we have fully conquered the old habit, the accursed old gospel of everyone for himself and God for all, we have no

alternative but to requisition grain surpluses as a loan to the hungry workers. It is terribly difficult to do this—we know that. Here nothing can be accomplished by force. Nevertheless it is ridiculous to say that we represent a minority of the working class—that can only make one laugh. That could be said in Paris, although workers' meetings there would not listen to such statements either. In a country where the government has been overthrown with unusual ease, where the workers and peasants are defending their own interests arms in hand, where they employ the rifle as the instrument of their will—to say in such a country that we represent a minority of the working class is absurd. I can understand such statements on the lips of Clemenceau, Lloyd George or Wilson. They are their words and their ideas! But when the speeches of Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George, the worst of the predators, the wild beasts of imperialism, are repeated here by Martov in the name of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (*laughter*), then I say to myself that we have to be on the alert and to realise that the Cheka is indispensable! (*Applause.*)

All the opposition speakers, the Bund representatives included, accuse us of not abiding by the Constitution. I maintain that we observe the Constitution most strictly. (*Voice from a box*: "Oho!") And although I hear an ironic "Oho!" from a box that was once the royal box and is now the opposition box (*laughter*) I shall nevertheless prove it. (*Applause.*) I will read to you the article of the Constitution that we observe most strictly and which shows that in all our activities we stick to the Constitution. Whenever I have had to speak about the Constitution at meetings attended by followers of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries there has always been difficulty in finding the text of the Constitution to quote. The meetings, however, were mostly held in halls where there was a Constitution hanging on the wall. In this hall there is none, but Comrade Petrovsky has saved the situation by lending me a pamphlet entitled *Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R.* I shall read Article 23: "Guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the R.S.F.S.R. deprives certain persons and certain groups of rights they use to the detriment of the interests of the socialist revolution."

I say once again, comrades, that we have never regarded our activity in general and our Constitution in particular us models of perfection. The question of changes to the Constitution has been raised at this Congress. We agree to make changes, let us take a look at the changes; they will not, however, remain constant "for all eternity". If you still want to fight, let it be a clean fight. If you want us to abide by the Constitution, why don't you want us to abide by Article 23? (*Applause.*) If this is not what you want, then let us discuss whether it is necessary to annul the article which says we should not go to the people with talk about universal freedom and the universal equality of the working people. You have made an excellent study of constitutional law, but you have learned from old bourgeois textbooks. You recall words about "democracy and freedom", you refer to the Constitution and you recall former words, and you promise the people everything in order not to fulfil that promise. We do not promise anything of the sort, we do not propose equality of workers and peasants. You do, so let's dispute the issue. There shall be complete equality, friendship and a fraternal alliance with those peasants who were exploited by the landowners and capitalists and who are now working to support their families on land taken from the landowners. We shall not, however, grant equality to those peasants who, because of their old habits, ignorance and avarice, are pulling back towards the bourgeoisie. You use general phrases about freedom and equality for the working people, about democracy and about the equality of workers and peasants. We do not promise that the Constitution will guarantee liberty and equality in general. Freedom—but for which class and for what purpose? Equality—who shall be equal to whom? For those who labour, who were exploited for dozens and hundreds of years by the bourgeoisie and who are now fighting against the bourgeoisie? It is so stated in the Constitution: "The dictatorship of the workers and poor peasants for the suppression of the bourgeoisie." When you speak about the Constitution, why don't you quote those words: "for the suppression of the bourgeoisie, for the suppression of the profiteers"? Show us a model country, a model of your splendid Menshevik constitution. Perhaps you will find such a model in the history, say, of Samara, where the

Mensheviks were in power. Perhaps you will find it in Georgia where the Mensheviks are in power today, where the suppression of the bourgeoisie, the profiteers, is proceeding under conditions of complete freedom and equality, under conditions of consistent democracy and without a Cheka. Show us such a model and we shall learn from it. You cannot, however, demonstrate such a model for you know that in all places where the collaborationists hold power, where the government is Menshevik or semi-Menshevik, feverish, unhampered speculation reigns. And the Vienna that Trotsky justly spoke about in his speech, where people like Friedrich Adler are in the government and which does not know "the horrors of Bolshevism", is as hungry and tormented as Petrograd and Moscow, but without the knowledge that the Viennese workers at the cost of hunger are breaking a road to victory over the bourgeoisie. Vienna is suffering more from hunger than Petrograd or Moscow and right there the Austrian and Viennese bourgeoisie are committing monstrous acts of speculation and plunder in the Viennese streets, in the Nevsky Prospekt and Kuznetsky Most* of Vienna. You do not abide by the Constitution, but we do when we recognise freedom and equality only for those who help the proletariat defeat the bourgeoisie. And in Article 23 we say that the land will not flow with milk and honey during the transition period. We say that we have to hold out, not for months, but for years, in order to complete the transition period. After two years we can say (and we shall most likely be believed) that we are able to hold out for several years only because we have inscribed in the Constitution that certain persons and groups are deprived of rights. We do not conceal from whom we have taken away the rights, we say openly that it is the group of Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries. The leaders of the Second International condemned us for this, but we say outright to the group of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries that we are ready to grant everything, but they must help us pursue the policy of the working people against the profiteers, against those who are helping food profiteering, those who are helping the bourgeoisie. Insofar

* Nevsky Prospekt and Kuznetsky Most were the shopping centres of pre-revolutionary Petrograd and Moscow respectively.—*Ed.*

as you prove this to us by deeds we shall free you from what has been done to you by the Constitution, but until then your empty words are mere evasion. Our Constitution is not noted for its rhetoric, it says to the peasants—if you are a labouring peasant you possess all rights, but there can be no equality of rights for all in a society in which workers are starving and where a fight against the bourgeoisie is under way. And it says to the workers—equality for those peasants who are helping in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, but no generalisations! In this field there will be a hard struggle. We accept with the greatest pleasure anyone who wants to help, irrespective of his past and irrespective of all titles. And we know that more and more such people are coming to us from other parties and from among the non-party people and this is a guarantee of our victory. (*Loud applause. Shouts of* "Bravo".)

3

SPEECH IN THE ORGANISATION SECTION[75]
DECEMBER 8

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

Comrades, I have received a number of notes from delegates asking me to speak on this issue. I did not think there was any need for it, and I refrained from speaking until I received these invitations because I unfortunately have had no opportunity of acquiring a practical knowledge of work in the localities and it stands to reason that the knowledge obtained through work in the Council of People's Commissars is insufficient. I am, furthermore, in complete agreement with what Comrade Trotsky has said and shall, therefore, confine myself to some brief comments.

When the question was raised in the Council of People's Commissars of the state farms and their transfer to gubernia land departments, and when the question of chief administrations and central boards was raised, there was no doubt in my mind that there are more than a few counter-revolutionary elements in both types of institution. But when attempts are made to accuse the state farms of being particularly counter-revolutionary institutions it has always seemed to me, and still does, that it is missing the mark, for neither the state farms, nor the chief administrations and central boards, nor any kind of big industrial establishment, or, in general, any central or local organisation administering a branch of economy of any importance, can and does manage without solving the problem of the employment of bourgeois specialists. It seems to me that attacks on the chief administrations and boards, though fully justified because a thorough purge of them is needed, are nevertheless mistaken, because in the present case this type of institution is chosen

indiscriminately from a number of similar institutions. It is, however, as clear as daylight from the work of the Economic Council that on no account must the chief administrations and boards and the state farms be specially selected in this matter because all our Soviet work, whether in the military field, or in the health services, or in education, has everywhere been up against, and is still up against, problems of this sort. We cannot recast the state apparatus and train a sufficient number of workers and peasants to make them fully acquainted with the government of the state without the aid of the old specialists. This is the main lesson to be learned from all our organisational work, and this experience tells us that in all spheres, including the military sphere, the old specialists—they are called old because of this—cannot be taken from anywhere except from capitalist society. That society made possible the training of specialists from far too narrow strata of the population, those that belonged to the families of landowners and capitalists, with only an insignificant number of peasant origin and only from among the wealthy peasants at that. If, therefore, we take into consideration the situation in which those people grew up and that in which they are now working, it is absolutely inevitable that these specialists, i.e., those skilled in administration on a broad, national scale, are to nine-tenths permeated with old bourgeois views and prejudices and even in those cases when they are not downright traitors (and this is not something that happens occasionally but is a regular feature), even then they are not capable of understanding the new conditions, the new tasks and the new requirements. On these grounds friction, failures and disorder are apparent everywhere, in all commissariats.

It seems to me, therefore, that people are missing the mark when they shout about reactionaries in the state farms, chief administrations and boards, attempting to separate this question from the general one of how to teach a large number of workers and peasants to administrate on a broad national scale. We are doing this at a speed that, if you take into consideration the backwardness of the country and the difficulty of our conditions, is certainly unknown in world history. No matter how great that speed is, it still does not satisfy us, because our requirements in workers and peasants

capable of administrative work and acquainted with special branches of administration are tremendous and are not being met even ten, even one per cent. When we are told, or when it is demonstrated at meetings of the Council of People's Commissars, that the state farms everywhere are hiding-places for old landowners who are slightly disguised or are not disguised at all, that nests of the bureaucracy are being built there, and that similar things are often to be observed in chief administrations and central boards, I never doubt that it is true. But I did say that if you think you can remedy this evil by handing the state farms over to the gubernia land departments you are mistaken.

Why are there more counter-revolutionary elements left in the chief administrations and central boards and in the state farms than there are in the army? Why are there fewer of them among the military? Because greater attention was, on the whole, paid to the military sphere and more Communists, more workers and peasants were sent there, political departments worked on a broader scale there, in short, the influence of advanced workers and peasants on the entire military apparatus was broader, more profound and more regular. Owing to this we have succeeded, if not in eradicating the evil, at least in being close to eradicating it. To this, I say, the greatest attention should be paid.

We are taking only the first steps towards getting the state farms in close contact with the neighbouring peasants and with communist groups so that there will be commissars everywhere, not only in the army and not only on paper. No matter whether they will be called members of a collegium, assistant managers or commissars, there must be individual responsibility—this and individual management are as necessary as collectivism is essential in discussing basic questions if there is to be no red tape and no opportunity to evade responsibility. We need people who will learn to administer independently in all cases. If this is done we shall overcome the evil in the best manner.

I am in complete agreement, let me say in conclusion, with Comrade Trotsky when he says that here many incorrect attempts have been made to present our disputes as being between workers and peasants and that the question of the administrations and boards has been woven into the question

of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In my opinion this is radically wrong. The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat may be raised when the issue is that of suppressing the bourgeoisie. Then we have to think about this question, then we need the dictatorship because only through it can we suppress the bourgeoisie and place power in the hands of that section of the working people that is capable of acting unwaveringly and attracting to itself ever greater numbers of the vacillating. In the present case we are not faced with anything of the sort. We are discussing how much more or how much less centralism is needed in a certain field at a certain moment. Since the comrades from the localities assure us (and Comrade Trotsky and many people's commissars confirm it) that in recent times in the gubernias and, to a considerable degree, in the uyezds, functionaries of a higher type have appeared (I am constantly hearing such an assertion also from Comrade Kalinin who has visited many places, and from comrades arriving here from the provinces), we shall have to take that into consideration and ask ourselves whether the matter of centralism is rightly understood in the present instance. I am sure we shall have to undertake a very great deal of this sort of correcting in the work of Soviet institutions. We are only now beginning to acquire organisational experience in this field. Insofar as we can see this experience from inside the Council of Defence and the Council of People's Commissars, it is quite obvious that it cannot be expressed by any figures and that it is impossible to talk about it in a short speech. We are sure, however, that in the localities work is being done in accordance with the general instructions of the central authorities. This has been achieved only in recent times.

This is by no means a question of a conflict between the dictatorship of the proletariat and other social elements. It is a matter of the experience of our Soviet organisational work, experience which, in my opinion, does not even concern the Constitution. Much has been said here about changes to the Constitution. But I do not think it has anything to do with this. The Constitution speaks of centralism as the basic principle. This basic principle is so indisputable for all of us (we all learned it from the impressive and even brutal object-lesson of Kolchak, Yudenich, Denikin and guer-

rilla bands) that here it cannot come into question. Nor does Comrade Sapronov reject the basic principle of centralism when it is a matter of granting a people's commissar or the Council of People's Commissars the right to challenge a candidate. It is not a constitutional question but one of practical convenience. We have to bring pressure to bear, first in one, then in another direction, in order to achieve positive results. When we are talking about gubernia state farm boards, or gubernia land departments, the stress is on placing them under the control of workers and neighbouring peasants. This is irrespective of whom they are subordinated to. It seems to me that no changes to the Constitution will ever enable you to kick out the hidden landowners or the disguised capitalists and bourgeois. We must introduce into our institutions a sufficient number of workers and peasants who are loyal beyond all doubt and who have practical experience as members of small collegiums, as assistants to some managers or as commissars. That's the crux of the matter! In this way you will have an ever greater number of workers and peasants who are learning to administer, and if they go through a complete schooling side by side with the old specialists they will take their places, carry out the same tasks and will train for our civil business, for the management of industry, for the direction of economic activities, a corps of officers to replace the personnel in the same way as that is being done in our war department. Therefore, I do not think there is any reason to proceed from considerations of principle as has here sometimes been the case; we must examine the question as one of practical experience and not as a constitutional one. If the majority of local functionaries, after an all-round discussion of the problem, come to the conclusion that gubernia state farm boards should be subordinated to the gubernia land departments—so well and good, we'll experiment on those lines and then decide the issue from the point of view of practical experience. First of all, however, we have to decide whether we shall get rid of the disguised landowners in this way, whether we shall make better use of the specialists. Shall we in this way train a larger number of workers and peasants to take over the management themselves? Shall we be drawing the neighbouring peasantry into the practical check-up of the state farms?

Shall we be elaborating practical forms for that check-up? That is what really matters! If we solve these problems I do not think we shall have wasted our time and our labour. Let us try different systems in the different people's commissariats; let us establish one system for state farms, chief administrations and central boards and another for the army or the Commissariat of Health. Our job is to attract, by way of experiment, large numbers of specialists, then replace them by training a new officers' corps, a new body of specialists who will have to learn the extremely difficult, new and complicated business of administration. The forms this will take will not necessarily be identical. Comrade Trotsky was quite right in saying that this is not written in any of the books we might consider our guides, it does not follow from any socialist world outlook, it has not been determined by anybody's experience but will have to be determined by our own experience. It seems to me that in this respect we must pool experience of communist organisation and test it by its practical implementation, so that we shall fully determine how we must tackle the problems that confront us.

4

SPEECH DELIVERED ON THE CLOSING OF THE CONGRESS DECEMBER 9

(*Prolonged applause. Delegates and visitors rise and applaud stormily for several minutes.*) Comrades, I should like to say a few words apropos of the most important items we have dealt with at this Congress.

We had a brief discussion, comrades, on the question of democracy and Soviet power. Although it may seem at first glance that this discussion was far removed from the burning, practical, day-to-day problems of the Soviet Republic, I nevertheless think that it was far from useless. Comrades, in workers' organisations throughout the world and very often in bourgeois parliaments, and, in any case, during elections to bourgeois parliaments, there is today the same basic discussion on democracy—which, although many people do not realise it, is the old bourgeois democracy —and on the new, Soviet, power. Old or bourgeois democracy proclaims freedom and equality, equality irrespective of whether a person owns anything or not, irrespective of whether he is the owner of capital or not; it proclaims freedom for private owners to dispose of land and capital and freedom for those who have neither to sell their workers' hands to a capitalist.

Comrades, our Soviet power has made a determined break with that freedom and that equality which is a lie (*applause*) and has said to the working people that socialists who understand freedom and equality in the bourgeois way have forgotten the germ, the ABC and all the content of socialism. We, and all the socialists who have not yet betrayed socialism,

have always exposed the lies, fraud and hypocrisy of bourgeois society that talk about freedom and equality, or, at any rate, about the freedom and equality of elections, although actually the power of the capitalists, the private ownership of land and factories, predetermines not freedom but the oppression and deception of the working people under every possible kind of "democratic and republican" system.

We say that our aim, being the aim of world socialism, is the abolition of classes and that classes are groups of people, one of which lives by the labour of another, one of which appropriates the labour of another. And so, if we are to speak of that freedom and that equality we shall have to admit, as most of the working people in Russia do, that no other country has as yet given as much in such a short time for real freedom and real equality, no other country has, in such a short time, given the working people freedom from the main class that oppresses them, the class of landowners and capitalists, and no other country has granted such equality in respect of the chief means of subsistence, the land. It is along this road, that of emancipation from the exploiting bourgeois classes up to the complete abolition of the classes, that we have begun and are continuing a resolute struggle for the complete abolition of classes. We know full well that those classes have been defeated but not destroyed. We know full well that the landowners and capitalists have been defeated but not destroyed. The class struggle continues, and the proletariat, together with the poor peasantry, must continue the struggle for the complete abolition of classes, attracting to their side all those who stand in the middle, and by their entire experience, their example of struggle they must ensure that all those who until now have stood in the ranks of the wavering are attracted to their side.

Comrades, going over to the business of our Congress, I must say that the Seventh Congress, is the first that has been able to devote a lot of time to the practical tasks of organisation, for the first time we have succeeded in making a start on a practical discussion, based directly on practical experience, of those tasks that concern the better organisation of Soviet economy and the better organisation of Soviet government.

We have, of course, had too little time to deal with this problem in great detail but we have, nevertheless, done a lot here, and all the further work of the Central Executive Committee and of the comrades in the localities will follow the lines laid down here.

In conclusion, comrades, I should like to make special mention of the way the present Congress is to become effective insofar as our international situation is concerned.

Comrades, we have here repeated our peace proposal to all the powers and countries of the Entente. We have here expressed confidence based on experience that is already very rich and of a very serious nature—our confidence that the main difficulties are behind us and that we are undoubtedly emerging victorious from the war forced on us by the Entente, the war that we have been fighting for two years against an enemy considerably stronger than we are.

But I think, comrades, that the appeal we have just heard from a representative of our Red Army was nevertheless very timely. If the main difficulties have been left behind, comrades, we have to admit that ahead of us, too, organisational tasks are developing on an extremely broad scale. There can be no doubt that there are still very influential and very strong capitalist groups, groups that are obviously dominant in many countries and that have decided to continue the war against Soviet Russia to the end, cost what it may. There can be no doubt that now we have achieved a certain decisive victory we shall have to devote additional efforts, we shall have to bend still greater effort in order to exploit that victory and carry it through to the end. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, there are two things you must not forget—first, our general weakness connected, perhaps, with the Slav character—we are not stable enough, not persistent enough in pursuing the aims we set ourselves—and secondly, experience has shown, once in the East and again in the South, that in a decisive moment we were unable to press hard enough on a fleeing enemy and have allowed him to rise to his feet again. There can be not a shadow of doubt that governments and the military classes of Western Europe are now drawing up new plans to save Denikin. There cannot be the slightest doubt that they will try to increase tenfold the

aid they have been giving him because they realise how great is the danger threatening him from Soviet Russia. We must, therefore, tell ourselves at a time when the victories are beginning, as we did in times of difficulty, "Comrades, remember that it may now depend on a few weeks or perhaps two or three months whether we end this war, not merely with a decisive victory, but with the complete destruction of the enemy, or whether we shall condemn tens and hundreds of thousands of people to a lengthy and tormenting war. On the basis of the experience we have acquired we can now say with full confidence that if we can redouble our efforts the possibility of not only achieving a final victory, but also of destroying the enemy and gaining for ourselves a durable and lengthy peace depends on a few weeks or on two or three months...."

Therefore, comrades, I should like more than anything to ask each of you on arriving in your locality to present this question to every Party organisation, to every Soviet institution and to every meeting of workers and peasants—comrades, this winter campaign will most certainly lead to the complete destruction of the enemy if we, encouraged by success and by the clear prospects for Soviet development that now open up before us, regard the forthcoming weeks and months as a period of hard work in which we must redouble our war effort and other work connected with it, and we shall then in the shortest time destroy the enemy, and put an end to the Civil War, which will open up before us the possibility for peaceful socialist construction for a long time. (*Applause.*)

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The symposium issued by the Socialist-Revolutionaries, *A Year of the Russian Revolution. 1917-18* (Moscow, Zemlya i Volya Publishers, 1918), contains an extremely interesting article by N. V. Svyatitsky: "Results of the All-Russia Constituent Assembly Elections (Preface)". The author gives the returns for 54 constituencies out of the total of 79.

The author's survey covers nearly all the gubernias of European Russia and Siberia, only the following being omitted: Olonets, Estonian, Kaluga, Bessarabian, Podolsk, Orenburg, Yakut and Don gubernias.

First of all I shall quote the main returns published by N. V. Svyatitsky and then discuss the political conclusions to be drawn from them.

I

The total number of votes polled in the 54 constituencies in November 1917 was 36,262,560. The author gives the figure of 36,257,960, distributed over seven regions (plus the Army and Navy), but the figures he gives for the various parties total up to what I give.

The distribution of the votes according to parties is as follows: the Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries polled 16.5 million votes; if we add the votes polled by the Socialist-Revolutionaries of the other nations (Ukrainians, Moslems,

and others), the total will be 20.9 million, i.e., 58 per cent.

The Mensheviks polled 668,064 votes, but if we add the votes polled by the analogous groups of Popular Socialists (312,000), *Yedinstvo* (25,000), Co-operators (51,000), Ukrainian Social-Democrats (95,000), Ukrainian socialists (507,000), German socialists (44,000) and Finnish socialists (14,000), the total will be 1.7 million.

The Bolsheviks polled 9,023,963 votes.

The Cadets polled 1,856,639 votes. By adding the Association of Rural Proprietors and Landowners (215,000), the Right groups (292,000), Old Believers (73,000), nationalists—Jews (550,000), Moslems (576,000), Bashkirs (195,000), Letts (67,000), Poles (155,000), Cossacks (79,000), Germans (130,000), Byelorussians (12,000)—and the "lists of various groups and organisations" (418,000), we get a total for the landowning and bourgeois parties of 4.6 million.

We know that the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks formed a bloc during the whole period of the revolution from February to October 1917. Moreover, the entire development of events during that period and after it showed definitely that those two parties together represent petty-bourgeois democracy, which mistakenly imagines it is, and calls itself, socialist, like all the parties of the Second International.

Uniting the three main groups of parties in the Constituent Assembly elections, we get the following total:

Party of the Proletariat (Bolsheviks)	9.02	million	= 25 per cent
Petty-Bourgeois democratic parties (Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, etc.)	22.62	"	= 62 "
Parties of landowners and bourgeoisie (Cadets, etc.)	4.62	"	= 13 "
Total	36.26	million	= 100 per cent

Here are N. V. Svyatitsky's returns by regions.

Votes Polled (*thousands*)

Regions* (and armed forces separately)	S.R.s (Russian)	Per cent	Bolsheviks	Per cent	Cadets	Per cent	*Total*
Northern	1,140.0	38	1,172.2	40	393.0	13	2,975.1
Central-Industrial.	1,987.9	38	2,305.6	44	550.2	10	5,242.5
Volga-Black Earth.	4,733.9	70	1,115.6	16	267.0	4	6,764.3
Western	1,242.1	43	1,282.2	44	48.1	2	2,961.0
East-Urals . . .	1,547.7	43(62)**	443.9	12	181.3	5	3,583.5
Siberia	2,094.8	75	273.9	10	87.5	3	2,786.7
The Ukraine . . .	1,878.1	25(77)***	754.0	10	277.5	4	7,581.3
Army and Navy. .	1,885.1	43	1,671.3	38	51.9	1	4,363.6

From these figures it is evident that during the Constituent Assembly elections the Bolsheviks were the party of the proletariat and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the party of the peasantry. In the purely peasant districts, Great-Russian (Volga-Black Earth, Siberia, East-Urals) and Ukrainian, the Socialist-Revolutionaries polled 62-77 per cent. In the industrial centres the Bolsheviks had a majority over the Socialist-Revolutionaries. This majority is understated in the district figures given by N. V. Svyatitsky, for he combined the most highly industrialised districts with little industrialised and non-industrial areas. For example, the gubernia figures of the votes polled by the Socialist-Revolutionary, Bolshevik, and Cadet parties, and by the "national and other groups", show the following:

In the Northern Region the Bolshevik majority seems to be insignificant: 40 per cent against 38 per cent. But in this region non-industrial areas (Archangel, Vologda, Novgorod and Pskov gubernias), where the Socialist-Revolutionaries predominate, are combined with industrial areas:

* The author divides Russia into districts in a rather unusual way: *Northern*: Archangel, Vologda, Petrograd, Novgorod, Pskov, Baltic. *Central-Industrial*: Vladimir, Kostroma, Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod, Ryazan, Tula, Tver Yaroslavl. *Volga-Black Earth*: Astrakhan, Voronezh, Kursk, Orel Penza Samara, Saratov, Simbirsk, Tambov. *Western*: Vitebsk, Minsk, Mogilev, Smolensk. *East-Urals*: Vyatka, Kazan, Perm, Ufa. *Siberia*: Tobolsk, Tomsk, Altai, Yeniseisk, Irkutsk, Transbaikal, Amur. *The Ukraine*: Volhynia, Ekaterinoslav, Kiev, Poltava, Taurida, Kharkov, Kherson, Chernigov.

** Svyatitsky obtains the figure in brackets, 62 per cent, by adding the Moslem and Chuvash Socialist-Revolutionaries.

*** The figure in brackets, 77 per cent, is mine, obtained by adding the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Petrograd City—Bolsheviks 45 per cent (of the votes), Socialist-Revolutionaries 16 per cent; Petrograd Gubernia—Bolsheviks 50 per cent, Socialist-Revolutionaries 26 per cent; Baltic—Bolsheviks 72 per cent, Socialist-Revolutionaries—0.

In the Central-Industrial Region the Bolsheviks in Moscow Gubernia polled 56 per cent and the Socialist-Revolutionaries 25 per cent; in Moscow City the Bolsheviks polled 50 per cent and the Socialist-Revolutionaries 8 per cent; in Tver Gubernia the Bolsheviks polled 54 per cent and the Socialist-Revolutionaries 39 per cent; in Vladimir Gubernia the Bolsheviks polled 56 per cent and the Socialist-Revolutionaries 32 per cent.

Let us note, in passing, how ridiculous, in face of such facts, is the talk about the Bolsheviks having only a "minority" of the proletariat behind them! And we hear this talk from the Mensheviks (668,000 votes, and with Transcaucasia another 700,000-800,000, against 9,000,000 votes polled by the Bolsheviks), and also from the social-traitors of the Second International.

II

How could such a miracle have occurred? How could the Bolsheviks, who polled one-fourth of the votes, have won a victory over the petty-bourgeois democrats, who were in alliance (coalition) with the bourgeoisie, and who together with the bourgeoisie polled three-fourths of the votes?

To deny this victory now, after the Entente—the all-mighty Entente—has been helping the enemies of Bolshevism for two years, is simply ridiculous.

The point is that the fanatical political hatred of those who have been defeated, including all the supporters of the Second International, prevents them from even raising seriously the extremely interesting historical and political question of why the Bolsheviks were victorious. The point is that this is a "miracle" only from the standpoint of vulgar petty-bourgeois democracy, the abysmal ignorance and deep-rooted prejudices of which are exposed by this question and the answer to it.

From the standpoint of the class struggle and socialism, from that standpoint, which the Second International has abandoned, the answer to the question is indisputable.

The Bolsheviks were victorious, first of all, because they had behind them the vast majority of the proletariat, which included the most class-conscious, energetic and revolutionary section, the real vanguard, of that advanced class.

Take the two metropolitan cities, Petrograd and Moscow. The total number of votes polled during the Constituent Assembly elections was 1,765,100, of which Socialist-Revolutionaries polled 218,000, Bolsheviks—837,000 and Cadets—515,400.

No matter how much the petty-bourgeois democrats who call themselves socialists and Social-Democrats (the Chernovs, Martovs, Kautskys, Longuets, MacDonalds and Co.) may beat their breasts and bow to the Goddesses of "equality", "universal suffrage", "democracy", "pure democracy", or "consistent democracy", it does not do away with the economic and political fact of the *inequality* of town and country.

That fact is inevitable under capitalism in general, and in the period of transition from capitalism to communism in particular.

The town cannot be equal to the country. The country cannot be equal to the town under the historical conditions of this epoch. The town inevitably *leads* the country. The country inevitably *follows the town*. The only question is which class, of the "urban" classes, will succeed in leading the country, will cope with this task, and what forms will *leadership by the town* assume?

In November 1917, the Bolsheviks had behind them the vast majority of the proletariat. By that time, the party which competed with the Bolsheviks among the proletariat, the Menshevik party, had been utterly defeated (9,000,000 votes against 1,400,000, if we add together 668,000 and 700,000-800,000 in Transcaucasia). Moreover, that party was defeated in the fifteen-year struggle (1903-17) which *steeled*, enlightened and organised the vanguard of the proletariat, and *forged* it into a genuine revolutionary vanguard. Furthermore, the first revolution, that of 1905, prepared the subsequent development, determined in a *practical* way the relations between-the two parties, and served as the general rehearsal of the great events of 1917-19.

The petty-bourgeois democrats who call themselves socialists of the Second International are fond of dismissing this extremely important historical question with honeyed phrases about the benefits of proletarian "unity". When they use these honeyed phrases they forget the historical fact of the *accumulation of opportunism* in the working-class movement of 1871-1914; they forget (or do not want) to *think* about the causes of the collapse of opportunism in August 1914, about the causes of the split in international socialism in 1914-17.

Unless the *revolutionary* section of the proletariat is thoroughly prepared in every way for the expulsion and suppression of opportunism it is useless even thinking about the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is the lesson of the Russian revolution which should be taken to heart by the leaders of the "independent" German Social-Democrats,[76] French socialists, and so forth, who now want to evade the issue by means of verbal recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To continue. The Bolsheviks had behind them not only the majority of the proletariat, not only the *revolutionary* vanguard of the proletariat which had been steeled in the long and persevering struggle against opportunism; they had, if it is permissible to use a military term, a powerful "striking force" in the metropolitan cities.

An overwhelming superiority of forces at the decisive point at the decisive moment—this "law" of military success is also the law of political success, especially in that fierce, seething class war which is called revolution.

Capitals, or, in general, big commercial and industrial centres (here in Russia the two coincided, but they do not everywhere coincide), to a considerable degree decide the political fate of a nation, provided, of course, the centres are supported by sufficient local, rural forces, even if that support does not come immediately.

In the two chief cities, in the two principal commercial and industrial centres of Russia, the Bolsheviks had an overwhelming, decisive superiority of forces. Here our forces were *nearly four times* as great as those of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. We had here *more than the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Cadets put together*. Moreover, our adver-

saries were split up, for the "coalition" of the Cadets with the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks (in Petrograd and Moscow the Mensheviks polled only 3 per cent of the votes) was utterly discredited among the working people. Real unity between the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks and the Cadets against us was quite out of the question at that time.* It will be remembered that in November 1917, even the leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who were a hundred times nearer to the idea of a bloc with the Cadets than the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik workers and peasants, even those leaders thought (and bargained with us) about a bloc with the Bolsheviks *without* the Cadets!

We were certain of winning Petrograd and Moscow in October-November 1917, for we had an overwhelming superiority of forces and the most thorough political preparation, insofar as concerns both the assembly, concentration, training, testing and battle-hardening of the Bolshevik "armies", and the disintegration, exhaustion, disunity and demoralisation of the "enemy's" "armies".

And being *certain* of winning the two metropolitan cities, the two centres of the capitalist state machine (economic and political), by a swift, decisive blow, we, in spite of the furious resistance of the bureaucracy and intelligentsia, despite sabotage, and so forth, were able with the aid of the central apparatus of state power to *prove by deeds* to the *non*-proletarian working people that the proletariat was their only reliable ally, friend and leader.

III

But before passing on to this most important question—that of the attitude of the proletariat towards the non-proletarian working people—we must deal with the *armed forces*.

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* It is interesting to note that the above figures also reveal the unity and solidarity of the party of the proletariat and the extremely fragmented state of the parties of the petty bourgeoisie and of the bourgeoisie.

The flower of the people's forces went to form the army during the imperialist war; the opportunist scoundrels of the Second International (not only the social-chauvinists, i.e., the Scheidemanns and Renaudels who directly went over to the side of "defence of the fatherland", but also the Centrists[77]) by their words and deeds strengthened the subordination of the armed forces to the leadership of the imperialist robbers of both the German and Anglo-French groups, but the real proletarian revolutionaries never forgot what Marx said in 1870: "The bourgeoisie will give the proletariat practice in arms!"[78] Only the Austro-German and Anglo-Franco-Russian betrayers of socialism could talk about "defence of the fatherland" in the imperialist war, i.e., a war that was predatory on both sides; the proletarian revolutionaries, however (from August 1914 onwards), turned all their attention to revolutionising the armed forces, to utilising them *against* the imperialist robber bourgeoisie, to converting the unjust and predatory war between the two groups of imperialist predators into a just and legitimate war of the proletarians and oppressed working people in each country against "their own", "national" bourgeoisie.

During 1914-17 the betrayers of socialism *did not make preparations* to use the armed forces *against* the imperialist government of *each* nation.

The Bolsheviks prepared for this by the whole of their propaganda, agitation and underground organisational work from August 1914 onwards. Of course, the betrayers of socialism, the Scheidemanns and Kautskys of all nations, got out of this by talking about the *demoralisation* of the armed forces by Bolshevik agitation, but we are *proud* of the fact that we performed our duty in demoralising the forces of our class enemy, in winning away *from him* the armed masses of the workers and peasants *for the struggle* against the exploiters.

The results of our work were seen in, among other things, the votes polled in the Constituent Assembly elections in November 1917, in which, in Russia, the armed forces also participated.

The following are the principal results of the voting as given by N. V. Svyatitsky:

Number of Votes Polled in the Constituent Assembly Elections, November 1917
(thousands)

Army and Navy units	S.R.s	Bolsheviks	Cadets	National and other groups	*Total*
Northern Front	240.0	480.0	?	60.0**	780.0
Western "	180.6	653.4	16.7	125.2	976.0
South-Western "	402.9	300.1	13.7	290.6	1,007.4
Rumanian "	679.4	167.0	21.4	260.7	1,128.6
Caucasian "	360.4	60.0	?	—	420.0
Baltic Fleet	—	(120.0)*	—	—	(120.0)*
Black Sea Fleet	22.2	10.8	—	19.5	52.5
Total	1,885.1	1,671.3 +(120.0)* = 1,791.3	51.8 +?	756.0	4,364.5 +(120.0)* +?

Summary: the Socialist-Revolutionaries polled 1,885,100 votes; the Bolsheviks polled 1,671,300 votes. If to the latter we add the 120,000 votes (approximately) polled in the Baltic Fleet, the total votes polled by the Bolsheviks will be 1,791,300.

The Bolsheviks, therefore, polled *a little less* than the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

And so, by October-November 1917, the armed forces were *half Bolshevik*.

If that had not been the case we could not have been victorious.

We polled nearly half the votes of the armed forces as a whole, but had an overwhelming majority on the fronts *nearest to the metropolitan cities* and, in general, on those not too far away. If we leave out the Caucasian Front, the Bolsheviks obtained on the whole a majority over the Socialist-Revolutionaries. And if we take the Northern and Western fronts, the votes polled by the Bolsheviks will amount to *over one million*, compared with 420,000 votes polled by the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

* The figure is Approximate. Two Bolsheviks were elected. N. V. Svyatitsky counts an average of 60,000 votes per elected person. That is why I give the figure 120,000.

** No information is given as to which party polled 19,500 votes in the Black Sea Fleet. The other figures in this column evidently apply almost entirely to the Ukrainian socialists for 10 Ukrainian socialists and one Social-Democrat (i.e., a Menshevik) were elected.

Thus, in the armed forces, too, the Bolsheviks already had a *political* "*striking force*", by November 1917, which ensured them an overwhelming superiority of forces at the decisive point at the decisive moment. Resistance on the part of the armed forces to the October Revolution of the proletariat, to the winning of political power by the proletariat, was entirely out of the question, considering that the Bolsheviks had an enormous majority on the Northern and Western fronts, while on the other fronts, far removed from the centre, the Bolsheviks had the time and opportunity to *win the peasants away from the Socialist-Revolutionary Party*. With this we shall deal later.

IV

On the basis of the returns of the Constituent Assembly elections we have studied the three conditions which determined the victory of Bolshevism: (1) an overwhelming majority among the proletariat; (2) almost half of the armed forces; (3) an overwhelming superiority of forces at the decisive moment at the decisive points, namely: in Petrograd and Moscow and on the war fronts near the centre.

But these conditions could have ensured only a very short-lived and unstable victory had the Bolsheviks been unable to win to their side the majority of the *non*-proletarian working masses, to win them from the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the other petty-bourgeois parties.

That is the main thing.

And the chief reason why the "socialists" (read: petty-bourgeois democrats) of the Second International fail to understand the dictatorship of the proletariat is that they fail to understand that

> *state power in the hands of one class, the proletariat, can and must become an instrument for winning to the side of the proletariat the non-proletarian working masses, an instrument for winning those masses from the bourgeoisie and from the petty-bourgeois parties.*

Filled with petty-bourgeois prejudices, forgetting the most important thing in the teachings of Marx about the state, the "socialists" of the Second International regard *state power* as something holy, as an idol, or as the result of formal voting, the absolute of "consistent democracy" (or what-

ever else they call this nonsense). They fail to see that state power is simply an *instrument* which *different* classes can and must use (and know how to use) *for their class aims*.

The bourgeoisie has used state power as an instrument of the capitalist class against the proletariat, against all the working people. That has been the case in the most democratic bourgeois republics. Only the betrayers of Marxism have "forgotten" this.

The proletariat must (after mustering sufficiently strong political and military "striking forces") overthrow the bourgeoisie, take state power from it in order to use that *instrument* for *its* class aims.

What are the class aims of the proletariat?

Suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie;

Neutralise the peasantry and, if possible, win them over—at any rate the majority of the labouring, non-exploiting section—to the side of the proletariat;

Organise large-scale machine production, using factories, and means of production in general, expropriated from the bourgeoisie;

Organise socialism on the ruins of capitalism.

* * *

In mockery of the teachings of Marx, those gentlemen, the opportunists, including the Kautskyites, "teach" the people that the proletariat must first win a majority by means of universal suffrage, then obtain state power, by the vote of that majority, and only after that, on the basis of "consistent" (some call it "pure") democracy, organise socialism.

But we say on the basis of the teachings of Marx and the experience of the Russian revolution:

the proletariat must first overthrow the bourgeoisie and win *for itself* state power, and then use that state power, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an instrument of its class for the purpose of winning the sympathy of the majority of the working people.

* * *

How can state power in the hands of the proletariat become the instrument of its class struggle for influence over the non-proletarian working people, of the struggle to draw them to its side, to win them over, to wrest them from the bourgeoisie?

First, the proletariat achieves this *not* by putting into operation the old apparatus of state power, but by *smashing* it to pieces, levelling it with the ground (in spite of the howls of frightened philistines and the threats of saboteurs) and building a *new* state apparatus. That new state apparatus is adapted to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to its struggle against the bourgeoisie to *win* the non-proletarian working people. That new apparatus is not anybody's invention, it *grows* out of the proletarian class struggle as that struggle becomes more widespread and intense. That new apparatus of state power, the new *type* of state power, is *Soviet power*.

The Russian proletariat, immediately, a few hours after winning state power, proclaimed the dissolution of the old state apparatus (which, as Marx showed, had been for centuries adapted to serve the class interests of the bourgeoisie, even in the most democratic republic[79]) and transferred *all power to the Soviets*; and only the working and exploited people could enter the Soviets, all exploiters of every kind were excluded.

In that way the proletariat at once, at one stroke, immediately *after* it had taken state power, *won* from the bourgeoisie *the vast mass* of its supporters in the petty-bourgeois and "socialist" parties; for that mass, the working and exploited people who had been deceived by the bourgeoisie (and by its yes-men, the Chernovs, Kautskys, Martovs and Co.), *on obtaining Soviet power*, acquired, *for the first time*, an instrument of mass struggle for their interests against the bourgeoisie.

Secondly, the proletariat can, and must, at once, or at all events very quickly, win from the bourgeoisie and from petty-bourgeois democrats "*their*" *masses*, i.e., the masses which follow them—win them by *satisfying their most urgent economic needs in a revolutionary way by expropriating the landowners and the bourgeoisie*.

The bourgeoisie *cannot* do that, no matter how "mighty" its state power may be.

The proletariat *can* do that on the very next day after it has won state power, because for this it has both an apparatus (the Soviets) and economic means (the expropriation of the landowners and the bourgeoisie).

That is exactly how the Russian proletariat *won the peasantry* from the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and won them literally *a few hours after* achieving state power; a few hours after the victory over the bourgeoisie in Petrograd, the victorious proletariat issued a "decree on land",[80] and in that decree it entirely, at once, with revolutionary swiftness, energy and devotion, *satisfied* all the most urgent economic needs of the *majority* of the peasants, it expropriated the landowners, entirely and without compensation.

To prove to the peasants that the proletarians did not want to steam-roller them, did not want to boss them, but to help them and be their friends, the victorious Bolsheviks did not put a *single word of their own* into that "decree on land", but copied it, word for word, from the peasant mandates (the most revolutionary of them, of course) which the *Socialist-Revolutionaries* had published in the *Socialist-Revolutionary* newspaper.

The Socialist-Revolutionaries fumed and raved, protested and howled that "the Bolsheviks had stolen their programme", but they were only laughed at for that; a fine party, indeed, which had to be defeated and driven from the government in order that everything in its programme that was revolutionary and of benefit to the working people could be carried out!

The traitors, blockheads and pedants of the Second International could never understand such dialectics; the proletariat cannot achieve victory if it does not win the majority of the population to its side. But to limit that winning to polling a majority of votes in an election *under the rule of the bourgeoisie*, or to make it the condition for it, is crass stupidity, or else sheer deception of the workers. In order to win the majority of the population to its side the proletariat must, in the first place, overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize state power; secondly, it must introduce Soviet power and completely smash the old state apparatus, whereby it immediately undermines the rule, prestige and influence of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois compromisers over the non-

proletarian working people. Thirdly, it must *entirely destroy* the influence of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois compromisers over the *majority* of the non-proletarian masses by satisfying *their* economic needs *in a revolutionary way at the expense of the exploiters*.

It is possible to do this, of course, only when capitalist development has reached a certain level. Failing that fundamental condition, the proletariat cannot develop into a separate class, nor can success be achieved in its prolonged training, education, instruction and trial in battle during long years of strikes and demonstrations when the opportunists are disgraced and expelled. Failing that fundamental condition, the centres will not play that economic and political role which enables the proletariat, after their capture, to lay hold of state power in its entirety, or more correctly, of its vital nerve, its core, its node. Failing that fundamental condition, there cannot be the kinship, closeness and bond between the position of the proletariat and that of the non-proletarian working people which (kinship, closeness and bond) are necessary for the proletariat to influence those masses, for its influence over them to be effective.

V

Let us proceed further.

The proletariat can win state power, establish the Soviet system, and satisfy the economic needs of the majority of the working people at the expense of the exploiters.

Is that sufficient for achieving complete and final victory? No, it is not.

The petty-bourgeois democrats, their chief present-day representatives, the "socialists" and "Social-Democrats", are suffering from illusions when they imagine that the working people are capable, under capitalism, of acquiring the high degree of class-consciousness, firmness of character, perception and wide political outlook that will enable them to decide, *merely by voting*, or at all events, to *decide in advance*, without long experience of struggle, that they will follow a particular class, or a particular party.

It is a mere illusion. It is a sentimental story invented by pedants and sentimental socialists of the Kautsky, Longuet and MacDonald type.

Capitalism would not be capitalism if it did not, on the one hand, condemn the *masses* to a downtrodden, crushed and terrified state of existence, to disunity (the countryside!) and ignorance, and if it (capitalism) did not, on the other hand, place in the hands of the bourgeoisie a gigantic apparatus of falsehood and deception to hoodwink the masses of workers and peasants, to stultify their minds, and so forth.

That is why only the proletariat can *lead the working people* out of capitalism to communism. It is no use thinking that the petty-bourgeois or semi-petty-bourgeois masses can decide in advance the extremely complicated political question: "to be with the working class or with the bourgeoisie". The *vacillation* of the non-proletarian sections of the working people is inevitable; and inevitable also is their own *practical experience*, which will enable them to *compare* leadership by the bourgeoisie with leadership by the proletariat.

This is the circumstance that is constantly lost sight of by those who worship "consistent democracy" and who imagine that extremely important political problems can be solved by voting. Such problems are actually solved by *civil war* if they are acute and aggravated by struggle, and the *experience* of the non-proletarian masses (primarily of the peasants), their experience of comparing the rule of the proletariat with the rule of the bourgeoisie, is of tremendous importance in that war.

The Constituent Assembly elections in Russia in November 1917, compared with the two-year Civil War of 1917-19, are highly instructive in this respect.

See which districts proved to be the least Bolshevik. First, the East-Urals and the Siberian where the Bolsheviks polled 12 per cent and 10 per cent of the votes respectively. Secondly, the Ukraine where the Bolsheviks polled 10 per cent of the votes. Of the other districts, the Bolsheviks polled the smallest percentage of votes in the peasant district of Great Russia, the Volga-Black Earth district, but even there the Bolsheviks polled 16 per cent of the votes.

It was precisely in the districts where the Bolsheviks polled the lowest percentage of votes in November 1917 that the counter-revolutionary movements, the revolts and the

organisation of counter-revolutionary forces had the greatest success. It was precisely in those districts that the rule of Kolchak and Denikin lasted for months and months.

The vacillation of the petty-bourgeois population was particularly marked in those districts where the influence of the proletariat is weakest. Vacillation was at first in favour of the Bolsheviks when they granted land and when the demobilised soldiers brought the news about peace; later—against the Bolsheviks when, to promote the international development of the revolution and to protect its centre in Russia, they agreed to sign the Treaty of Brest and thereby "offended" patriotic sentiments, the deepest of petty-bourgeois sentiments. The dictatorship of the proletariat was particularly displeasing to the peasants in those places where there were the largest stocks of surplus grain, when the Bolsheviks showed that they would strictly and firmly secure the transfer of those surplus stocks to the state at fixed prices. The peasants in the Urals, Siberia and the Ukraine turned to Kolchak and Denikin.

Further, the experience of Kolchak and Denikin "democracy", about which every hack writer in Kolchakia and Denikia shouted in every issue of the whiteguard newspapers, showed the peasants that phrases about democracy and about the "Constituent Assembly" serve only as a screen to conceal the dictatorship of the landowners and capitalists.

Another turn towards Bolshevism began and peasant revolts spread in the rear of Kolchak and Denikin. The peasants welcomed the Red troops as liberators.

In the long run, it was this vacillation of the peasantry, the main body of the petty-bourgeois working people, that decided the fate of Soviet rule and of the rule of Kolchak and Denikin. But this "long run" was preceded by a fairly lengthy period of severe struggle and painful trial, which have not ended in Russia after two years, have not ended precisely in Siberia and in the Ukraine. And there is no guarantee that they will end *completely* within, say, another year or so.

The supporters of "consistent" democracy have not given thought to the importance of this historic fact. They invented, and are still inventing, nursery tales about the proletariat under capitalism being able to "convince" the majority

of the working people and win them firmly to its side by voting. But reality shows that only in the course of a long and fierce struggle does the stern experience of the *vacillating* petty bourgeoisie *lead it* to the conclusion, after comparing the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the capitalists, that the former is better than the latter.

In theory, all socialists who have studied Marxism and are willing to take into account the lessons of the nineteenth-century political history of the advanced countries recognise that the *vacillation* of the petty bourgeoisie between the proletariat and the capitalist class is inevitable. The economic roots of this vacillation are clearly revealed by economic science, the truths of which have been repeated millions of times in the newspapers, leaflets and pamphlets issued by the socialists of the Second International.

But these people cannot apply those truths to the peculiar epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They substitute petty-bourgeois-democratic prejudices and illusions (about class "equality", about "consistent" or "pure' democracy, about solving great historic problems by voting, and so forth) for the class struggle. They will not understand that after capturing state power the proletariat does not thereby cease its *class struggle*, but continues it in a different form and by different means. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle of the proletariat conducted with the aid of an instrument like state power, a class struggle, one of whose aims is to demonstrate to the non-proletarian sections of the working people by means of their long experience and a long list of practical examples that it is more to their advantage to side with the dictatorship of the proletariat than with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and that there can be no third course.

The returns of the Constituent Assembly elections held in November 1917 give us the main background to the picture of the development of the Civil War that has raged for two years since those elections. The main forces in that war were *already* clearly evident during the Constituent Assembly elections—the role of the "striking force" of the proletarian army, the role of the vacillating peasantry, and the role of the bourgeoisie were already apparent. In his article

N .V. Svyatitsky writes: "The Cadets were most successful in the same regions where the Bolsheviks were most successful—in the Northern and Central-Industrial regions" (p. 116). Naturally, in the most highly developed capitalist centres, the intermediary elements standing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were the weakest. Naturally, in those centres, the class struggle was most acute. It was there that the main forces of the bourgeoisie were concentrated and there, only there, could the proletariat defeat the bourgeoisie. Only the proletariat could rout the bourgeoisie, and only after routing the bourgeoisie could the proletariat definitely win the sympathy and support of the petty-bourgeois strata of the population by using an instrument like state power.

If properly used, if correctly read, the returns of the Constituent Assembly elections reveal to us again and again the fundamental truths of the Marxist doctrine of the class struggle.

These returns, incidentally, also reveal the role and importance of the national question. Take the Ukraine. At the last conferences on the Ukrainian question some comrades accused the writer of these lines of giving too much "prominence" to the national question in the Ukraine. The returns of the Constituent Assembly elections show that in the Ukraine, as early as November 1917, the *Ukrainian* Socialist-Revolutionaries and socialists polled a majority (3.4 million votes + 0.5 = 3.9 million against 1.9 million polled by the Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries, out of a total poll in the whole of the Ukraine of 7.6 million votes). In the army on the South-Western and Rumanian fronts the Ukrainian socialists polled 30 per cent and 34 per cent of the total votes (the Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries polled 40 per cent and 59 per cent).

Under these circumstances, to ignore the importance of the national question in the Ukraine—a sin of which Great Russians are often guilty (and of which the Jews are guilty perhaps only a little less often than the Great Russians)—is a great and dangerous mistake. The division between the Russian and Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries as early as 1917 could not have been accidental. As internationalists it is our duty, first, to combat very vigorously the survivals (sometimes unconscious) of Great-Russian imperialism and

chauvinism among "Russian" Communists; and secondly, it is our duty, precisely on the national question, which is a relatively minor one (for an internationalist the question of state frontiers is a secondary, if not a tenth-rate, question), to make concessions. There are other questions—the fundamental interests of the proletarian dictatorship; the interests of the unity and discipline of the Red Army which is fighting Denikin; the leading role of the proletariat in relation to the peasantry—that are more important; the question whether the Ukraine will be a separate state is far less important. We must not be in the least surprised, or frightened, even by the prospect of the Ukrainian workers and peasants trying out different systems, and in the course of, say, several years, testing by practice union with the R.S.F.S.R., or seceding from the latter and forming an independent Ukrainian S.S.R., or various forms of their close alliance, and so on, and so forth.

To attempt to settle this question in advance, once and for all, "firmly" and "irrevocably", would be narrow-mindedness or sheer stupidity, for the vacillation of the non-proletarian working people on *such* a question is quite natural, even inevitable, but not in the least frightful for the proletariat. It is the duty of the proletarian who is really capable of being an internationalist to treat *such* vacillation with the greatest caution and tolerance, it is his duty to leave it to the non-proletarian masses *themselves* to *get rid* of this vacillation as a result of their own experience. We must be intolerant and ruthless, uncompromising and inflexible on other, more fundamental questions, some of which I have already pointed to above.

VI

The comparison of the Constituent Assembly elections in November 1917 with the development of the proletarian revolution in Russia from October 1917 to December 1919 enables us to draw conclusions concerning bourgeois parliamentarism and the proletarian revolution in every capitalist country. Let me try briefly to formulate, or at least to outline, the principal conclusions.

1. Universal suffrage is an index of the level reached by the various classes in their understanding of their problems.

It shows how the various classes are *inclined* to solve their problems. The actual *solution* of those problems is not provided by voting, but by the class struggle in all its forms including civil war.

2. The socialists and Social-Democrats of the Second International take the stand of vulgar petty-bourgeois democrats and share the prejudice that the fundamental problems of the class struggle can be solved by voting.

3. The party of the revolutionary proletariat must take part in bourgeois parliaments in order to enlighten the masses; this can be done during elections and in the struggle between parties in parliament. But limiting the class struggle to the parliamentary struggle, or regarding the latter as the highest and decisive form, to which all the other forms of struggle are subordinate, is actually desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

4. All the representatives and supporters of the Second International, and all the leaders of the German, so-called "independent", Social-Democratic Party, actually go over to the bourgeoisie in this way when they recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat in words, but in deeds, by their propaganda, imbue the proletariat with the idea that it must first obtain a formal expression of the will of the majority of the population under capitalism (i.e., a majority of votes in the bourgeois parliament) to transfer political power to the proletariat, which transfer is to take place later.

All the cries, based on this premise, of the German "independent" Social-Democrats and similar leaders of decayed socialism against the "dictatorship of a minority", and so forth, merely indicate that those leaders fail to understand the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which actually reigns even in the most democratic republics, and that they fail to understand the conditions for its destruction by the class struggle of the proletariat.

5. This failure to understand consists, in particular, in the following: they forget that, to a very large degree, the bourgeois parties are able to rule because they deceive the masses of the people, because of the yoke of capital, and to this is added self-deception concerning the nature of capitalism, a self-deception which is characteristic mostly

of the petty-bourgeois parties, which usually want to substitute more or less disguised forms of class conciliation for the class struggle.

"First let the majority of the population, while private property still exists, i.e., while the rule and yoke of capital still exist, express themselves in favour of the party of the proletariat and only then can and should the party take power"—so say the petty-bourgeois democrats who call themselves socialists but who are in reality the servitors of the bourgeoisie.

"Let the revolutionary proletariat first overthrow the bourgeoisie, break the yoke of capital, and smash the bourgeois state apparatus, then the victorious proletariat will be able rapidly to gain the sympathy and support of the majority of the non-proletarian working people by satisfying their needs at the expense of the exploiters"—say we. The opposite will be rare exception in history (and even in such an exception the bourgeoisie can resort to civil war, as the example of Finland showed[81]).

6. Or in other words:

"First we shall pledge ourselves to recognise the principle of equality, or consistent democracy, while preserving private property and the yoke of capital (i.e., actual inequality under formal equality), and try to obtain the decision of the majority on this basis"—say the bourgeoisie and their yes-men, the petty-bourgeois democrats who call themselves socialists and Social-Democrats.

"First the proletarian class struggle, winning state power, will destroy the pillars and foundations of actual inequality, and then the proletariat, which has defeated the exploiters, will lead all working people to the *abolition of classes*, i.e., to socialist *equality*, the only kind that is not a deception"—say we.

7. In all capitalist countries, besides the proletariat, or that part of the proletariat which is conscious of its revolutionary aims and is capable of fighting to achieve them, there are numerous politically immature proletarian, semi-proletarian, semi-petty-bourgeois strata which follow the bourgeoisie and bourgeois democracy (including the "socialists" of the Second International) because they have been deceived, have no confidence in their own strength, or

in the strength of the proletariat, are unaware of the possibility of having their urgent needs satisfied by means of the expropriation of the exploiters.

These strata of the working and exploited people provide the vanguard of the proletariat with allies and give it a stable majority of the population; but the proletariat can win these allies only with the aid of an instrument like state power, that is to say, only after it has overthrown the bourgeoisie and has destroyed the bourgeois state apparatus.

8. The strength of the proletariat in any capitalist country is far greater than the proportion it represents of the total population. That is because the proletariat economically dominates the centre and nerve of the entire economic system of capitalism, and also because the proletariat expresses economically and politically the real interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people under capitalism.

Therefore, the proletariat, even when it constitutes a minority of the population (or when the class-conscious and really revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat constitutes a minority of the population), is capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and, after that, of winning to its side numerous allies from a mass of semi-proletarians and petty bourgeoisie who never declare in advance in favour of the rule of the proletariat, who do not understand the conditions and aims of that rule, and only by their subsequent experience become convinced that the proletarian dictatorship is inevitable, proper and legitimate.

9. Finally, in every capitalist country there are always very broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie which inevitably vacillate between capital and labour. To achieve victory, the proletariat must, first, choose the right moment for its decisive assault on the bourgeoisie, taking into account, among other things, the disunity between the bourgeoisie and its petty-bourgeois allies, or the instability of their alliance, and so forth. Secondly, the proletariat must, after its victory, utilise this vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie in such a way as to neutralise them, prevent their siding with the exploiters; it must be able to hold on for some time *in spite of this vacillation*, and so on, and so forth.

10. One of the necessary conditions for preparing the proletariat for its victory is a long, stubborn and ruthless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism, and similar bourgeois influences and trends, which are inevitable, since the proletariat is operating in a capitalist environment. If there is no such struggle, if opportunism in the working-class movement is not utterly defeated beforehand, there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat. Bolshevism would not have defeated the bourgeoisie in 1917-19 if before that, in 1903-17, it had not learned to defeat the Mensheviks, i.e., the opportunists, reformists, social-chauvinists, and ruthlessly expel them from the party of the proletarian vanguard.

At the present time, the verbal recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the leaders of the German "Independents", or by the French Longuetists,[82] and the like, who are *actually* continuing the old, habitual policy of big and small concessions to and conciliation with opportunism, subservience to the prejudices of bourgeois democracy ("consistent democracy" or "pure democracy" as they call it) and bourgeois parliamentarism, and so forth, is the most dangerous self-deception—and sometimes sheer fooling of the workers.

December 16, 1919

Published in December 1919

Published according to the manuscript

TO THE YOUNGER GENERATION[83]

Greetings to the working-class and peasant youth of Petrograd Gubernia on the occasion of their communist labour week.

Intensify your work in this field, my young comrades, so that you can apply your fresh, young forces to the building of a new and brighter life.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

Smena No. 1,
December 18, 1919

Published according to
the *Smena* text

SPEECH AT A MEETING IN PRESNYA DISTRICT ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECEMBER UPRISING, 1905
DECEMBER 19, 1919

Comrades, we are gathered here today to celebrate the anniversary of the December uprising in Moscow and the battle that took place in Presnya District fourteen years ago.

Comrades, the 1905 insurrection in Moscow was one of the greatest movements by Russian worker revolutionaries and although it could not have been a success at that time it was nevertheless of tremendous significance. It is only today, when we have before us a picture of the many years of historical preparatory work for the Russian revolution, that we can properly appreciate the significance of the December uprising in 1905 and of the battles that the workers of Red Presnya then fought against the forces of tsarism. Comrades, we now see clearly how insignificant the forces of the Russian workers then were; and we see that the sacrifices made at that time have been repaid a hundredfold.

I must say, however, that in December 1905, tsarism had to muster all its forces in order to suppress the still weak, embryonic revolt of the workers. The Moscow organisation of our Party has recently published two collections of reminiscences of the December insurrection, the events in Presnya, and about the way the weak underground Party organisation of that time prepared the insurrection and about the tremendous enthusiasm with which not only factory workers, but all the working people of Moscow supported it. Among these newly published articles there is a particularly interesting one by a gendarme and police officer

which admits that the revolutionaries in December 1905 still did not know how weak they, the supporters of tsarism, were at that time. "If the blow struck by the revolutionaries had been a little more powerful and had lasted a little longer," admits this servant of the tsar, "we should not have been able to hold out, with the disorder that was beginning to make itself felt among us." This admission, made by a member of the secret police, is especially interesting; it shows that the sacrifices made by the workers of Presnya in the cause of freedom and the emancipation of the workers were not made in vain, that even then their heroic example demonstrated the strength of the working class to all enemies and at the same time ignited those millions of sparks that later, in a long and toilsome manner, over a period of many years, burst into flame and produced the victorious revolution.

After 1905 the working-class movement in Russia experienced the most difficult and bloody period of its history. Tsarism showed unprecedented brutality in dealing with the heroes who revolted in Moscow in 1905. After the suppression of the Moscow uprising the working class of Russia made several more attempts to rise to the level of a mass struggle. In the spring of 1906 there were mass strikes and the beginnings of a peasant movement; in 1907 another attempt was made—these attempts, however, could only slow down the forces of reaction but were unable to check them. And long years passed during which the movement was forced to hide in the underground, when hundreds and thousands of the sons of the working class perished on the gallows, in prisons, in exile and in penal colonies.

Then we saw that in 1910, 1911 and 1912 the working class again began to muster its forces and we saw how, after the Lena massacre in April 1912, a wave of powerful mass strikes began to rise which spread from one end of the country to the other and gave tsarism such a jolt that by the summer of 1914 events went as far as barricades in Petrograd; it is possible that one of the reasons accelerating the tsarist government's desperate decision to start the war was their hope of crushing the revolutionary movement in that way. Instead of crushing it, however, the war was the cause of the revolutionary movement spreading to all advanced countries.

As we can see clearly enough, the four-year war was carried on by predators, not only by German but also by British and French imperialism, for the purpose of plunder. When the Germans, in 1918, imposed the plundering Treaty of Brest-Litovsk upon us, there was no end to the shouts disapproving of that treaty in France and Britain, and when a year later, in that same year of 1918, Germany was defeated and the German Empire collapsed, the French and British capitalists then imposed the Treaty of Versailles on conquered Germany; this is now an example of measures still more brutal, more violent, than we had at Brest-Litovsk.

We now see how, week by week, the eyes of hundreds, thousands and millions of workers in France, Britain and America are being opened; they were duped and were assured that the~ were fighting a war against German imperialism and they have now seen that millions of people were killed and maimed in that war. And for what? For the enrichment of an insignificant handful of millionaires who since the war have become multimillionaires and who have brought all countries to the brink of ruin.

Comrades, we are living in difficult times insofar as concerns the misfortunes that have overtaken the industrial, especially the urban, workers. You know how difficult this situation is and how hungry and cold our working class is. And we also know that not only backward Russia who was torn by war for four years and after that has had for another two years to pursue a war imposed on her with the help of Britain and France—Russia was not the only country that has been ruined, but the most advanced and wealthy countries, the victor countries such as, for instance, France and the U.S.A., have also been brought to the brink of ruin. They are experiencing a coal crisis, they have to curtail the railway services because their industry and transport were crushed and ruined to an unparalleled degree by four years of war. Huge productive forces were destroyed in that imperialist war and we see as a result that the road which the Russian working class showed all workers, showed the whole world as far back as 1905 when it revolted against tsarism, the path which was followed by the Russian working class when it overthrew the bourgeoisie—that path

is now attracting the attention and winning the sympathy of workers of all, even the most advanced, countries.

I have already said, comrades, that this winter we have to endure unparalleled hardships and calamities. We say to ourselves, however, that we shall stand firm to the end, because the best of the workers, the most politically-conscious workers and peasants, have, despite all calamities and hardships, been helping us, helping us by forming the Red Army which is bringing us to final victory. We know that now that Kolchak's forces have been completely routed and the recent revolts in Siberia have seemingly deprived the remnants of Kolchak's army of the possibility of joining up with Denikin, and now that huge military forces have been captured at Novo-Nikolayevsk, there is obviously no longer Kolchak's army. In the South, where Denikin was able to boast of his successes, we now see the steadily growing offensive of our Red Army. You know that Kiev, Poltava and Kharkov have been captured and our advance on the Donets Basin, the source of coal supplies, is proceeding at an extremely rapid rate.

We therefore see, comrades, that all those terrible misfortunes which the working class has borne for the sake of our full victory over capital, all the sacrifices that have been made are now bringing good results. We see that capitalists abroad who have, until now, been handing out millions of rubles and every kind of war materiel, first to Kolchak, and then to Yudenich and Denikin, are now beginning to hesitate.

You know that they cut Russia off from other countries by the iron ring of the blockade and you know that they did not let our representatives go to other countries. You know that Comrade Litvinov, one of the revolutionaries who fought with the Bolsheviks against tsarism even before 1905, was our Ambassador to Great Britain and that there was not a workers' meeting that did not greet him with such applause and with such stormy protests against their own government, that the British went to the trouble of deporting him. Today, those people who hate Litvinov so heartily have given him permission to go to Copenhagen, and not merely permission, but also the means (Comrade Litvinov arrived there on a British cruiser). We also know that

every day of Comrade Litvinov's stay in Copenhagen is an ever greater victory for Russia. Workers' representatives and the correspondents of thousands of bourgeois newspapers are constantly approaching him for an explanation of the change that has taken place. We know that the change has come because the Western bourgeoisie can no longer keep up the blockade and help the Russian counter-revolutionary generals with millions of rubles because the working class of each of those rich and advanced countries will not let them.

Perhaps the most vivid expression of the turn that has come in the politics of the European countries is the voting of the deputies in the Italian chamber which we know of from the report sent by wireless from France to America and picked up by our wireless station. The report was this. When the question of Russia was discussed in the Italian chamber, and when the socialists proposed the immediate recognition of the Soviet Republic, a hundred voted for and two hundred against the proposal; that means that only the workers were in favour of recognising the Soviet Republic and all the bourgeois deputies rejected it. After that, however, the Italian chamber passed a unanimous motion to the effect that the Italian Government approach the allies with a view to stop the blockade altogether and put an end to all intervention in Russian affairs. That was a decision adopted by a chamber that consists to the extent of two-thirds, if not three-quarters, of landowners and capitalists, that was adopted in one of the victor countries and that was adopted simply under pressure from the working-class movement.

The decision shows clearly that a real turning point in international politics is approaching and that the tremendous inner forces of the working-class movement of every country have actually brought about what we have always hoped for, which we told the workers of Russia would happen, and for the sake of which, we told them, it was worth while struggling and making heavy sacrifices, that the sacrifices would have to be made, so that the troubles and torments, the hunger and cold that we are suffering from will not have been in vain. In this way we are not merely saving Russia, we are winning the sympathy and support of millions and millions of workers of other countries with every week of

struggle. That is why today, when we remember our comrades who fell, the heroes of Red Presnya, the memory of them gives us greater enthusiasm and firm resolution to bring victory near.

Despite all difficulties and all sacrifices we shall go forward ourselves and will lead the workers of all countries to full victory over capital. (*Applause*.)

Brief report published December 20, 1919 in *Izvestia* No. 286

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Published according to the verbatim report

REPORT ON SUBBOTNIKS DELIVERED TO A MOSCOW CITY CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.)[84] DECEMBER 20, 1919

Comrades, the organisers of the conference inform me that you have arranged for a report on subbotniks and divided it into two parts so that it would be possible to discuss the main thing in this field in detail; first, the organisation of subbotniks in Moscow and results achieved, and secondly, practical conclusions for their further organisation. I should like to confine myself to general propositions, to the ideas born of the organisation of subbotniks as a new phenomenon in our Party and governmental development. I shall, therefore, dwell only briefly on the practical aspect.

When the first communist subbotniks had just been organised it was difficult to judge to what extent such a phenomenon deserved attention and whether anything big would come of it. I remember that when the first news of them began to appear in the Party press, the appraisals of comrades close to trade union organisational affairs and the Commissariat of Labour were at first extremely restrained, if not pessimistic. They did not think there were any grounds for regarding them as important. Since then subbotniks have become so widespread that their importance to our development cannot be disputed by anyone.

We have actually been using the adjective "communist" very frequently, so frequently that we have even included it in the name of our Party. But when you give this matter some thought, you arrive at the idea that together with the good that has followed from this, a certain danger for us

may have been created. Our chief reason for changing the name of the Party was the desire to draw a clear line of distinction between us and the dominant socialism of the Second International. After the overwhelming majority of the official socialist parties, through their leaders, had gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie of their own countries or of their own governments during the imperialist war, the tremendous crisis, the collapse of the old socialism, became obvious to us. And in order to stress as sharply as possible that we could not consider socialists those who took sides with their governments during the imperialist war, in order to show that the old socialism had gone rotten, had died—mainly for that reason the idea of changing the Party's name was put forward. This the more so, since the name of "Social-Democratic" has from the theoretical point of view long ceased to be correct. As far back as the forties, when it was first widely used politically in France, it was applied to a party professing petty-bourgeois socialist reformism and not to a party of the revolutionary proletariat. The main reason, the motive for changing the name of our Party which has given its new name to the new International was the desire to cut ourselves off decisively from the old socialism.

If we were to ask ourselves in what way communism differs from socialism, we should have to say that socialism is the society that grows directly out of capitalism, it is the first form of the new society. Communism is a higher form of society, and can only develop when socialism has become firmly established. Socialism implies work without the aid of the capitalists, socialised labour with strict accounting, control and supervision by the organised vanguard, the advanced section of the working people; the measure of labour and remuneration for it must be fixed. It is necessary to fix them because capitalist society has left behind such survivals and such habits as the fragmentation of labour, no confidence in social economy, and the old habits of the petty proprietor that dominate in all peasant countries. All this is contrary to real communist economy. We give the name of communism to the system under which people form the habit of performing their social duties without any special apparatus for coercion, and when unpaid work for

the public good becomes a general phenomenon. It stands to reason that the concept of "communism" is a far too distant one for those who are taking the first steps towards complete victory over capitalism. No matter how correct it may have been to change the name of the Party, no matter how great the benefit the change has brought us, no matter how great the accomplishments of our cause and the scale on which it has developed—Communist Parties now exist throughout the world and although less than a year has passed since the foundation of the Communist International,[85] from the point of view of the labour movement it is incomparably stronger than the old, dying Second International—if the name "Communist Party" were interpreted to mean that the communist system is being introduced immediately, that would be a great distortion and would do practical harm since it would be nothing more than empty boasting.

That is why the word "communist" must be treated with great caution, and that is why communist subbotniks that have begun to enter into our life are of particular value, because it is only in this extremely tiny phenomenon that something communist has begun to make its appearance. The expropriation of the landowners and capitalists enabled us to organise only the most primitive forms of socialism, and there is not yet anything communist in it. If we take our present-day economy we see that the germs of socialism in it are still very weak and that the old economic forms dominate overwhelmingly; these are expressed either as the domination of petty proprietorship or as wild, uncontrolled profiteering. When our adversaries, the petty-bourgeois democrats, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, assert in their objections to us that we have smashed large-scale capitalism but that the worst kind of profiteering, usury capitalism, persists in its place, we tell them that if they imagine that we can go straight from large-scale capitalism to communism they are not revolutionaries but reformists and utopians.

Large-scale capitalism has been seriously undermined everywhere, even in those countries where no steps towards socialism have yet been taken. From this point of view, none of the criticisms or the objections levelled against us by our opponents are serious. Obviously the beginnings

of a new, petty, profiteering capitalism began to make their appearance after large-scale capitalism had been crushed. We are living through a savage battle against the survivals of large-scale capitalism which grasps at every kind of petty speculation where it is difficult to counteract it and where it takes on the worst and most unorganised form of trading.

The struggle has become much fiercer under war conditions and has led to the most brutal forms of profiteering, especially in places where capitalism was organised on a larger scale, and it would be quite incorrect to imagine that the revolutionary transition could have any other form. That is how matters stand in respect of our present-day economy. If we were to ask ourselves what the present economic system of Soviet Russia is, we should have to say that it consists in laying the foundations of socialism in large-scale industry, in reorganising the old capitalist economy with the capitalists putting up a stubborn resistance in millions and millions of different ways. The countries of Western Europe that have emerged from the war as badly off as we are—Austria, for instance—differ from us only in that the disintegration of capitalism and speculation are more pronounced there than in our country and that there are no germs of socialist organisation to offer resistance to capitalism. There is, however, not yet anything communist in our economic system. The "communist" begins when subbotniks (i.e., unpaid labour with no quota set by any authority or any state) make their appearance; they constitute the labour of individuals on an extensive scale for the public good. This is not helping one's neighbour in the way that has always been customary in the countryside; it is work done to meet the needs of the country as a whole, and it is organised on a broad scale and is unpaid. It would, therefore, be more correct if the word "communist" were applied not only to the name of the Party but also to those economic manifestations in our reality that are actually communist in character. If there is anything communist at all in the prevailing system in Russia, it is only the subbotniks, and everything else is nothing but the struggle against capitalism for the consolidation of socialism out of which, after the full victory of socialism, there should grow that

communism that we see at subbotniks, not with the aid of a book, but in living reality.

Such is the theoretical significance of subbotniks; they demonstrate that here something quite new is beginning to emerge in the form of unpaid labour, extensively organised to meet the needs of the entire state, something that is contrary to all the old capitalist rules, something that is much more lofty than the socialist society that is conquering capitalism. When the workers on the Moscow-Kazan Railway, people who were living under conditions of the worst famine and the greatest need, first responded to the appeal of the Central Committee of the Party to come to the aid of the country,[86] and when there appeared signs that communist subbotniks were no longer a matter of single cases but were spreading and meeting with the sympathy of the masses, we were able to say that they were a phenomenon of tremendous theoretical importance and that we really should afford them all-round support if we wanted to be Communists in more than mere theory, in more than the struggle against capitalism. From the point of view of the practical construction of a socialist society that is not enough. It must be said that the movement can really be developed on a mass scale. I do not undertake to say whether we have proved this since no general summaries of the extent of the movement we call communist subbotniks have yet been prepared. I have only fragmentary information and have read in the Party press that these subbotniks are developing more and more widely in a number of towns. Petrograd comrades say that subbotniks are far more widespread in their city than in Moscow. As far as the provinces are concerned many of the comrades who have a practical knowledge of this movement have told me that they are collecting a huge amount of material on this new form of social labour. However, we shall only be able to obtain summarised data after the question has been discussed many times in the press and at Party conferences in different cities; on the basis of those data we shall be able to say whether the subbotniks have really become a mass phenomenon, and whether we have really achieved important successes in this sphere.

Whatever may be the case, whether or not we shall soon obtain that sort of complete and verified data, we should not doubt that from the theoretical point of view the subbotniks are the only manifestation we have to show that we do not only call ourselves Communists, that we do not merely want to be Communists, but are actually doing something that is communist and not merely socialist. Every Communist, therefore, everyone who wants to be true to the principles of communism should devote all his attention and all his efforts to the explanation of this phenomenon and to its practical implementation. That is the theoretical significance of the subbotniks. At every Party conference, therefore, we must persistently raise this question and discuss both its theoretical and its practical aspect. We must not limit this phenomenon to its theoretical significance. Communist subbotniks are of tremendous importance to us not only because they are the practical implementation of communism. Apart from this, subbotniks have a double significance—from the standpoint of the state they are purely practical aid to the state, and from the standpoint of the Party—and for us, members of the Party, this must not remain in the shade—they have the significance of purging the Party of undesirable elements and are of importance in the struggle against the influences experienced by the Party at a time when capitalism is decaying.

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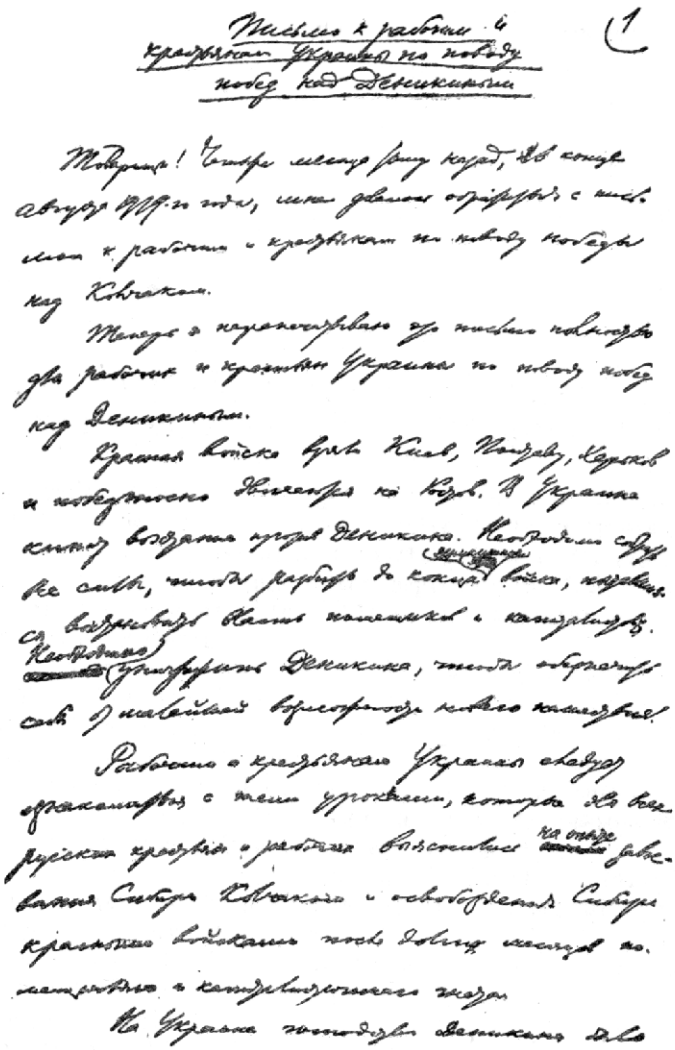

Письмо к рабочим и крестьянам Украины по поводу побед над Деникиным

1

Товарищи! Вчера целую ночь напролет, до самого отъезда ЦК в поезд, писал данное обращение к письмо к рабочим и крестьянам по поводу победы над Колчаком.

Теперь я перечитываю это письмо повторяю для рабочих и крестьян Украины по поводу побед над Деникиным.

Красная конница взяла Киев, Полтаву, Харьков и победоносно движется на Юг. В Украине снова создана угроза Деникину. Необходимо собрать все силы, чтобы разбить до конца банды, которые со поддержкой Англии напасли на Советскую Украину. Необходимо уничтожить Деникина, чтобы обеспечить себе длительный мирный труд.

Рабочие и крестьяне Украины обязаны сплотиться с теми русскими рабочими и крестьянами, которые на всем русском фронте и рабочие Советских на отдаленных Сибири Колчака и освободили Сибирь красными войсками под Омском нанесли окончательный и сокрушительный удар.

На Украине теперь Деникин дал

First page of Lenin's manuscript
"Letter to the Workers and Peasants
of the Ukraine Apropos of the
Victories over Denikin". December 28, 1919
Reduced

LETTER
TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF THE UKRAINE APROPOS OF THE VICTORIES OVER DENIKIN

Comrades, four months ago, towards the end of August 1919, I had occasion to address a letter to the workers and peasants in connection with the victory over Kolchak.

I am now having this letter reprinted in full for the workers and peasants of the Ukraine in connection with the victories over Denikin.

Red troops have taken Kiev, Poltava and Kharkov and are advancing victoriously on Rostov. The Ukraine is seething with revolt against Denikin. All forces must be rallied for the final rout of Denikin's army, which has been trying to restore the power of the landowners and capitalists. We must destroy Denikin to safeguard ourselves against even the slightest possibility of a new incursion.

The workers and peasants of the Ukraine should familiarise themselves with the lessons which all Russian workers and peasants have drawn from the conquest of Siberia by Kolchak and her liberation by Red troops after many months of landowner and capitalist tyranny.

Denikin's rule in the Ukraine has been as severe an ordeal as Kolchak's rule was in Siberia. There can be no doubt that the lessons of this severe ordeal will give the Ukrainian workers and peasants—as they did the workers and peasants of the Urals and Siberia—a clearer understanding of the tasks of Soviet power and induce them to defend it more staunchly.

In Great Russia the system of landed estates has been completely abolished. The same must be done in the Ukraine,

and the Soviet power of the Ukrainian workers and peasants must effect the complete abolition of the landed estates and the complete liberation of the Ukrainian workers and peasants from all oppression by the landowners, and from the landowners themselves.

But apart from this task, and a number of others which confronted and still confront both the Great-Russian and the Ukrainian working masses, Soviet power in the Ukraine has its own special tasks. One of these special tasks deserves the greatest attention at the present moment. It is the national question, or, in other words, the question of whether the Ukraine is to be a separate and independent Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic bound in alliance (federation) with the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, or whether the Ukraine is to amalgamate with Russia to form a single Soviet republic. All Bolsheviks and all politically-conscious workers and peasants must give careful thought to this question.

The independence of the Ukraine has been recognised both by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic) and by the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). It is therefore self-evident and generally recognised that only the Ukrainian workers and peasants themselves can and will decide at their All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets whether the Ukraine shall amalgamate with Russia, or whether she shall remain a separate and independent republic, and, in the latter case, what federal ties shall be established between that republic and Russia.

How should this question be decided insofar as concerns the interests of the working people and the promotion of their fight for the complete emancipation of labour from the yoke of capital?

In the first place, the interests of labour demand the fullest confidence and the closest alliance among the working people of different countries and nations. The supporters of the landowners and capitalists, of the bourgeoisie, strive to disunite the workers, to intensify national discord and enmity, in order to weaken the workers and strengthen the power of capital.

Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed.

We are opposed to national enmity and discord, to national exclusiveness. We are internationalists. We stand for the close union and the complete amalgamation of the workers and peasants of all nations in a single world Soviet republic.

Secondly, the working people must not forget that capitalism has divided nations into a small number of oppressor, Great-Power (imperialist), sovereign and privileged nations and an overwhelming majority of oppressed, dependent and semi-dependent, non-sovereign nations. The arch-criminal and arch-reactionary war of 1914-18 still further accentuated this division and as a result aggravated rancour and hatred. For centuries the indignation and distrust of the non-sovereign and dependent nations towards the dominant and oppressor nations have been accumulating, of nations such as the Ukrainian towards nations such as the Great-Russian.

We want a *voluntary* union of nations—a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another—a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent. Such a union cannot be effected at one stroke; we have to work towards it with the greatest patience and circumspection, so as not to spoil matters and not to arouse distrust, and so that the distrust inherited from centuries of landowner and capitalist oppression, centuries of private property and the enmity caused by its divisions and redivisions may have a chance to wear off.

We must, therefore, strive persistently for the unity of nations and ruthlessly suppress everything that tends to divide them, and in doing so we must be very cautious and patient, and make concessions to the survivals of national distrust. We must be adamant and uncompromising towards everything that affects the fundamental interests of labour in its fight for emancipation from the yoke of capital. The question of the demarcation of frontiers now, for the time being—for we are striving towards the complete abolition of frontiers—is a minor one, it is not fundamental or important.

In this matter we can afford to wait, and must wait, because the national distrust among the broad mass of peasants and small owners is often extremely tenacious, and haste might only intensify it, in other words, jeopardise the cause of complete and ultimate unity.

The experience of the workers' and peasants' revolution in Russia, the revolution of October-November 1917, and of the two years of victorious struggle against the onslaught of international and Russian capitalists, has made it crystal-clear that the capitalists have succeeded for a time in playing upon the national distrust of the Great Russians felt by Polish, Latvian, Estonian and Finnish peasants and small owners, that they have succeeded for a time in sowing dissension between them and us on the basis of this distrust. Experience has shown that this distrust wears off and disappears only very slowly, and that the more caution and patience displayed by the Great Russians, who have for so long been an oppressor nation, the more certainly this distrust will pass. It is by recognising the independence of the Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian and Finnish states that we are slowly but steadily winning the confidence of the labouring masses of the neighbouring small states, who were more backward and more deceived and downtrodden by the capitalists. It is the surest way of wresting them from the influence of "their" national capitalists, and leading them to full confidence, to the future united international Soviet republic.

As long as the Ukraine is not completely liberated from Denikin, her government, until the All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets meets, is the All-Ukraine Revolutionary Committee.[87] Besides the Ukrainian Bolshevik Communists, there are Ukrainian *Borotba* Communists[88] working on this Revolutionary Committee as members of the government. One of the things distinguishing the Borotbists from the Bolsheviks is that they insist upon the unconditional independence of the Ukraine. The Bolsheviks will not make *this* a subject of difference and disunity, they do not regard *this* as an obstacle to concerted proletarian effort. There must be unity in the struggle against the yoke of capital and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and there should be no parting of the ways among Communists on the ques-

tion of national frontiers, or whether there should be a federal or some other tie between the states. Among the Bolsheviks there are advocates of complete independence for the Ukraine, advocates of a more or less close federal tie, and advocates of the complete amalgamation of the Ukraine with Russia.

There must be no differences over these questions. They will be decided by the All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets.

If a Great-Russian Communist insists upon the amalgamation of the Ukraine with Russia, Ukrainians might easily suspect him of advocating this policy not from the motive of uniting the proletarians in the fight against capital, but because of the prejudices of the old Great-Russian nationalism, of imperialism. Such mistrust is natural, and to a certain degree inevitable and legitimate, because the Great Russians, under the yoke of the landowners and capitalists, had for centuries imbibed the shameful and disgusting prejudices of Great-Russian chauvinism.

If a Ukrainian Communist insists upon the unconditional state independence of the Ukraine, he lays himself open to the suspicion that he is supporting this policy not because of the temporary interests of the Ukrainian workers and peasants in their struggle against the yoke of capital, but on account of the petty-bourgeois national prejudices of the small owner. Experience has provided hundreds of instances of the petty-bourgeois "socialists" of various countries—all the various Polish, Latvian and Lithuanian pseudo-socialists, Georgian Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and the like—assuming the guise of supporters of the proletariat for the sole purpose of deceitfully promoting a policy of compromise with "their" national bourgeoisie against the revolutionary workers. We saw this in the case of Kerensky's rule in Russia in the February-October period of 1917, and we have seen it and are seeing it in all other countries.

Mutual distrust between the Great-Russian and Ukrainian Communists can, therefore, arise very easily. How is this distrust to be combated? How is it to be overcome and mutual confidence established?

The best way to achieve this is by working together to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power in the fight against the landowners and capitalists of all

countries and against their attempts to restore their domination. This common fight will clearly show in practice that whatever the decision in regard to state independence or frontiers may be, there must be a close military and economic alliance between the Great-Russian and Ukrainian workers, for otherwise the capitalists of the "Entente", in other words, the alliance of the richest capitalist countries—Britain, France, America, Japan and Italy—will crush and strangle us separately. Our fight against Kolchak and Denikin, whom these capitalists supplied with money and arms, is a clear illustration of this danger.

He who undermines the unity and closest alliance between the Great-Russian and Ukrainian workers and peasants is helping the Kolchaks, the Denikins, the capitalist bandits of all countries.

Consequently, we Great-Russian Communists must repress with the utmost severity the slightest manifestation in our midst of Great-Russian nationalism, for such manifestations, which are a betrayal of communism in general, cause the gravest harm by dividing us from our Ukrainian comrades and thus playing into the hands of Denikin and his regime.

Consequently, we Great-Russian Communists must make concessions when there are differences with the Ukrainian Bolshevik Communists and Borotbists and these differences concern the state independence of the Ukraine, the forms of her alliance with Russia, and the national question in general. But all of us, Great-Russian Communists, Ukrainian Communists, and Communists of any other nation, must be unyielding and irreconcilable in the underlying and fundamental questions which are the same for all nations, in questions of the proletarian struggle, of the proletarian dictatorship; we must not tolerate compromise with the bourgeoisie or any division of the forces which are protecting us against Denikin.

Denikin must be vanquished and destroyed, and such incursions as his not allowed to recur. That is to the fundamental interest of both the Great-Russian and the Ukrainian workers and peasants. The fight will be a long and hard one, for the capitalists of the whole world are helping Denikin and will help all other Denikins.

In this long and hard fight we Great-Russian and Ukrainian workers must maintain the closest alliance, for separately we shall most definitely be unable to cope with the task. Whatever the boundaries of the Ukraine and Russia may be, whatever may be the forms of their mutual state relationships, that is not so important; that is a matter in which concessions can and should be made, in which one thing, or another, or a third may be tried—the cause of the workers and peasants, of the victory over capitalism, will not perish because of that.

But if we fail to maintain the closest alliance, an alliance against Denikin, an alliance against the capitalists and kulaks of our countries and of all countries, the cause of labour will most certainly perish for many years to come in the sense that the capitalists *will be able* to crush and strangle both the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Russia.

And what the bourgeoisie of all countries, and all manner of petty-bourgeois parties—i.e., "compromising" parties which permit alliance with the bourgeoisie against the workers—try most of all to accomplish is to disunite the workers of different nationalities, to evoke distrust, and to disrupt a close international alliance and international brotherhood of the workers. Whenever the bourgeoisie succeeds in this the cause of the workers is lost. The Communists of Russia and the Ukraine must therefore by patient, persistent, stubborn and concerted effort foil the nationalist machinations of the bourgeoisie and vanquish nationalist prejudices of every kind, and set the working people of the world an example of a really solid alliance of the workers and peasants of different nations in the fight for Soviet power, for the overthrow of the yoke of the landowners and capitalists, and for a world federal Soviet republic.

N. Lenin

December 28, 1919

Pravda No. 3,
January 4, 1920

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with the manuscript

STOP SPOILING THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

SOME THOUGHTS AT LEISURE, i.e., WHILE LISTENING TO SPEECHES AT MEETINGS[89]

We are spoiling the Russian language. We are using foreign words unnecessarily. And we use them incorrectly. Why use the foreign word *defekty* when we have three Russian synonyms—*nedochoty*, *nedostatki*, *probely*.

A man who has recently learned to read in general, and to read newspapers in particular, will, of course, if he reads them diligently, willy-nilly absorb journalistic turns of speech. However, it is the language of the newspapers that is beginning to suffer. If a man who has recently learned to read uses foreign words as a novelty, he is to be excused, but there is no excuse for a writer. Is it not time for us to declare war on the unnecessary use of foreign words?

I must admit that the unnecessary use of foreign words annoys me (because it makes it more difficult for us to exercise our influence over the masses) but some of the mistakes made by those who write in the newspapers make me really angry. For instance—the word *budirovat* is used in the meaning of arouse, awaken, stir up. It comes from the French word *bouder* which means to sulk, to pout, which is what *budirovat* should really mean. This adoption of Nizhni-Novgorod French is the adoption of the worst from the worst representatives of the Russian landowning class, who learned some French but who, first, did not master the language, and who, secondly, distorted the Russian language.

Is it not time to declare war on the spoiling of Russian?

First published in *Pravda* No. 275, December 3, 1924
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to the manuscript

TO THE BUREAU OF THE WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN PETROGRAD GUBERNIA[90]

Comrades, since I have no opportunity of attending your Congress I should like to send you in writing my greetings and my best wishes for success.

We are now happily ending the Civil War. The Soviet Republic is becoming stronger through its victories over the exploiters. The Soviet Republic can and must, from now on, concentrate its forces on a more important task, one that is nearer and dearer to us, to all working people—on a bloodless war, a war for victory over hunger, cold and economic chaos. In this bloodless war, women workers and peasants have an especially big role to play.

May the Women's Congress in Petrograd Gubernia help found, consolidate and organise an army of working women for this bloodless war which should and will bring still greater victories to Soviet power.

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

January 10, 1920

Petrogradskaya Pravda No. 11,
January 16, 1920

Published according to
the manuscript

REMARKS ON AND ADDENDA TO DRAFTS FOR "RULES FOR THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION"

To Comrade Stalin. Copies to Avanesov and Tomsky, and also to Kiselyov, Member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee

On the basis of directive given by the Central Committee[91] the three drafts should, in my opinion, be worked up into one.

I think you should add:

(1) The "Department" of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection at the State Control Commission should be a temporary one for the purpose of involving the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection *in all* departments of the State Control Commission, and should then disappear as a special department.

(2) Purpose: *all* working people, both men and *particularly women*, should serve in the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

(3) For this draw up lists in the localities (in accordance with the Constitution), excluding clerks, etc.

—all others *in turn* to participate in the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

(4) Participation to vary according to the degree of development of the participants—beginning with the role of "listener", or witness, or learner for the illiterate and completely undeveloped workers and peasants, and ending with the granting of all right (or almost all) to the literate and developed who have been *tested* in some way or another.

(5) Pay special attention to (and make strictly precise rules for), and *extend* control by the Workers' and Peasants'

Inspection over accounting for food, *goods*, warehouses, tools, materials, fuel, etc., etc. (in dining-rooms, etc., especially).

Women, literally *every woman*, *must* be drawn into this work.

(6) So as not to get into a mess with the involvement of masses of participants they must be drawn into the work gradually, in turn, etc. The ways in which they participate must also be carefully planned (two or three at a time, rarely, in special cases, more, so that they will not waste the working time of the clerks).

(7) Detailed instructions must be compiled.

(8) Officials of the State Control Commission must (in accordance with a special instruction), first, invite representatives of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to all their operations, and secondly, deliver lectures to *non-party* conferences of workers and peasants (popular lectures according to a specially approved programme on the principles of the State Control Commission and its methods; perhaps the lectures could be replaced by the reading of a pamphlet that we shall publish—that is, the State Control Commission, Stalin and Avanesov, will publish it with the special participation of the Party—and commenting on that pamphlet).

(9) *Gradually* summon peasants from the localities (they must be non-party peasants) to participate in the State Control Commission at the centre; begin with at least (if it is impossible to do more) one or two from each gubernia and then, depending on transport and other conditions, *increase the number*. The same thing for non-party workers.

(10) Gradually introduce the verification of the participation of working people in the State Control Commission by the Party and the trade unions, i.e., through these organisations verify whether everyone participates and what results come from the participation insofar as learning the business of state administration is concerned.

Lenin

January 24, 1920

First published in 1928

Published according to the manuscript

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A NON-PARTY CONFERENCE OF WORKERS AND RED ARMY MEN OF PRESNYA DISTRICT, MOSCOW JANUARY 24, 1920

NEWSPAPER REPORT

"In connection with the recent victories of the Red Army there has been a marked change in our international situation, and we must seek new ways of solving our international problems.

"As soon as the Soviet government was formed all the forces of international capital were hurled against it. These forces are far stronger than those of the Soviet government, so that waverers might have doubted whether the Soviet government could be victorious. Yet it has been victorious. And it is worth reflecting on the reasons for the Soviet government's victory in order to know what must be done to be victorious in the future."

Comrade Lenin shows how great has been the victory over the forces of capital and how complete the rout of Kolchak, which has compelled the Allies to remove the blockade and to abandon their plan to strangle Russia.

"This victory over a far stronger enemy has shown that the Bolsheviks were right, and not those who asserted that in taking up arms against the world bourgeoisie we were embarking on a hopeless cause. Although the removal of the blockade has eased our position somewhat, the bourgeoisie of the West will probably attempt to fight us again. Even though they have now removed the blockade, they are inciting the Polish whiteguards against us. We must, therefore, be once more on our guard, prepare for new attacks, draw

the lessons from the two years of struggle and employ the methods by which we have been victorious hitherto.

"The Mensheviks have often said that the proletarians of the West are not supporting us, are allowing us to be strangled as they allowed Hungary to be strangled.[92] That would seem to be true. But why did the Entente troops quit the North and Odessa? Because the more deeply their soldiers, who were themselves workers, penetrated into Soviet Russia, the more emphatically they refused to fight against us. That means that one of the reasons for our victory was this: we can be fought only by a big force, but a big army can be recruited only from among the workers and peasants, and the workers of the West do not want to fight us. We were therefore victorious not because we were the stronger, but because the working folk of the Entente countries proved to be closer to us than to their own governments.

"The second reason for our victory was the failure of the 'Campaign of the Fourteen States'.[93] This shows that the small states cannot unite to fight the Bolsheviks, because they are afraid that their own victory and the simultaneous victory of Denikin's forces would mean the restoration of the Russian Empire which would again rob the little nations of the right to live. We are concluding peace with Estonia, which is already a virtual breach in the blockade, even if the formal removal of the blockade is just a blind.

"The big powers of the Entente cannot unite to fight the Soviet government because they are too hostile to each other. Germany is harbouring thoughts of vengeance against France for the predatory Peace of Versailles, France is inciting Poland against us, while Britain is allowing Estonia to make peace with us, as long as Estonia trades with her. Japan, who has a stronger army than ours in Siberia, cannot fight us because she fears attack by America, with whom she is at loggerheads over imperialist, colonialist interests in China. That means that a second reason for our victory was this: whereas the workers are united, the bourgeoisie, being bourgeois, cannot help getting at each other's throats and fighting for an extra bit of profit.

"And so we have emerged victorious from the first two years of the Civil War, which were the hardest years of all,

because we had been ruined by the imperialist war and were cut off from grain and coal supplies. But now we have grain and fuel in abundance. In Siberia the grain requisitioned alone amounted to twenty-one million poods. It is true that we cannot get it out immediately, but then, the transport system has broken down all over Europe, and in our country it was deliberately disrupted by the whiteguards. They blew up all the bridges on the Dnieper, except the Kiev bridge, and this explains both the delay in the military operations and the delay in the transport of grain. We have the Guryev oil and shall transport it as soon as the offshore ice on the Caspian melts. We are bearing all this in mind, and are preparing to transport the oil. We are creating labour armies to restore the railways; one of them has already started to build a railway from Alexandrov-Gai to Guryev for the transport of oil. We cannot demobilise the army because we still have enemies, such as Poland. Demobilisation is also being hampered by the transport break-down. We shall therefore use the army to restore the railways.

"The whiteguards keep saying in their sheets that the Bolsheviks are doing fine propaganda and are sparing no money for the purpose. But the people have heard all sorts of propaganda—they have heard the propaganda of the whiteguards and the propaganda of the Constituent Assembly supporters. It is absurd to think that they have followed the Bolsheviks because their propaganda was the more skilful. No, the point is that their propaganda was truthful.

"The very deeds of Denikin and Kolchak were propaganda against them and in favour of the Soviet system. That is why we won. We overthrew the tsar easily in a few hours. We overthrew the landowners and capitalists in a few weeks. But that was only half the job. We have to learn to work in a new way. Formerly it was the exploiter who organised labour and hunger that united labour; now labour must be united by the workers and peasants realising that they must work in order to escape from this dire situation.

"But this is not yet implanted in everyone's mind, and we are starting a new and bloodless fight to bring it home. All previous revolutions ended to the advantage of a handful of capitalists and exploiters. That was because the insurrectionary working people had no sense of solidarity, each thought

only of himself, they all fought one another, and it was the swindlers and profiteers who came out on top.

"You have a peasant who has grain, and side by side with him there is a hungry man, and the peasant prefers to sell grain to the hungry man for a thousand rubles rather than loan it to the workers' government. Somebody here even says 'Hear, hear!' Well, both Denikin and Kolchak tried freedom of trade, but the best, politically-conscious workers and peasants saw what this meant in practice and turned their backs on them.

"In the old days they used to say, 'Each for himself, and God for all.' And how much misery resulted from it.

"We say, 'Each for all, and we'll somehow manage without God.' And we shall strive for a fraternal alliance between the workers and the peasants who loan their grain to the state—it has to be a loan, because at present we are unable to give anything in return; bits of coloured paper are not money. Hitherto we have had to fight just to prevent the enemy from strangling us; but now, when an enemy much stronger than us has been defeated, our hands are free, and we must set about the job of building a new life and, in the first place, must restore the railways.

"In the South we have repair shops captured by the Red Army in places where grain is close, so let these repair shops work at full speed, in three shifts, and not in the way starving people work.

"We must concentrate the whole force of our Communist propaganda, with the help of which we defeated the foreign enemy, on the restoration of the railways.

"We once had a 'splendid' foreign trade and used to export 700,000,000 poods of grain annually. Russian and foreign millionaires made fortunes on this business, while the Russian workers and peasants starved. Now we must convince everybody that the only salvation is, 'Everyone for all!' We must, whatever the cost, abolish freedom of trade and profiteering, which mean bread for a small handful and starvation for the rest. We must convince the peasants—and they will believe us, because Denikin demonstrated to them the 'blessings' of freedom of profiteering, they will understand that the only salvation is for them to give grain as a loan to the worker and artisan, and that these will

repay the loan not in bits of coloured paper but in textiles and other goods.

"We have started a great war, a war which we shall not end soon. This is a bloodless war waged by the armies of labour on starvation, cold and typhus, a war for an enlightened, bright, well-fed and healthy Russia. But we shall end this war with a victory as decisive as the one with which we ended the struggle against the whiteguards...."

In reply to a question about the terms of the peace with Estonia, Comrade Lenin said that we had made many concessions, the chief of which was the cession of disputed territory inhabited by a mixed population—Russians and Estonians. But we did not want to shed the blood of workers and Red Army soldiers for the sake of a piece of land, all the more that this concession was not being made for ever. Estonia was passing through a Kerensky period; the workers were beginning to realise the vileness of their Constituent Assembly leaders, who had plundered the trade unions and had murdered twenty Communists. They would soon overthrow this government and set up a Soviet Estonia, he said, which would conclude a new peace with us.

Pravda No. 18,
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DRAFT DECISIONS AND DIRECTIVES ON CO-OPERATIVES[94]

Tomorrow at the Council of People's Commissars table a draft decree, not on a merger for the co-operatives but on the completion of the unification of all types of co-operative, rewriting O. J. Schmidt's proposal so that a most cautious attitude is displayed to local producers' co-operatives, and the Council of Co-operative Congresses is abolished in the shortest period.

Directives:

(α) More attention to be paid to the needs of the working people and not only of the affluent and kulak section. Change the formula of the preamble in this spirit.

(β) More extensive aid for producers' co-operatives with local initiative specially developed, and improved methods of farming and industry encouraged.

(γ) Concrete steps by the new Central Co-operative Society for the unification of producers' co-operatives to be carried out with the approval of the Council of People's Commissars.

(a) Instruct Tsyurupa and Lezhava to table a draft decision at the Council of People's Commissars (without deciding in advance whether it is to be published) formulating more precise, systematic and concrete rules for the participation of co-operatives in the procurement of various foodstuffs, and for the ways and forms, terms and methods by which this participation is to be effected.

(b) Instruct the Central Statistical Board, in agreement with the Central Union of Consumers' Societies, the People's Food Commissariat and the Supreme Economic Council, to draw up by ... a programme of sample surveys of the methods

and results of food procurement in the localities with and without the participation of the co-operatives.

The programme to be tabled at the Council of People's Commissars for approval and for the actual appointment of the survey.

Think about whether a questionnaire can be used, and if it can, submit a brief draft of it to the Council of People's Commissars.

Purpose of the survey: the detailed analysis of facts that may be few but are typical and properly verified of how products were gathered, which products and in what quantities, how they were delivered, guarded and transported, over what distance, etc. Number of cases of coercion, and what sort of coercion. Supply of goods in exchange, what sort, and what quantities. The percentage of compulsory deliveries and surpluses obtained and in what period. The participation of various groups of peasants in the delivery of grain (and in receiving goods, if they were available).

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Published according to the manuscript

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF ECONOMIC COUNCILS[95] JANUARY 27, 1920

NEWSPAPER REPORT

Comrade Lenin said that he would only touch lightly on those questions which he had had lately to deal with most. One of them was the organisation of administration—the question of corporate management or one-man management.[96] In the controversies on this subject the question had been discussed on the basis of abstract reasoning in which the superiority of corporate management over individual management was argued. But this led very far away from the practical tasks of the moment. Such arguments went back to an early stage in the development of the Soviet system, a stage that had already passed. It was time to put the matter on a more business-like footing.

"Corporate management," continued Lenin, "as the chief type of organisation of Soviet administration, is something embryonic, something needed in the early stages, when you have to start from scratch. But when more or less stable forms have been established, the transition to practical work involves individual management, for that system best ensures the most effective utilisation of human abilities, and a real, not verbal, verification of work done.

"The experience of the Soviet government in army organisation must not be regarded as something isolated. War embraces all forms of organisation in all spheres. The development of our army led to successful results only because it was carried on in the spirit of general Soviet organisation,

on the basis of class relations that affect all development. We find here the same thin layer of the leading class, the proletariat, and the peasantry forming the mass. The nature of this relationship may not have been so fully apparent in other spheres, but it was thoroughly tested in the army, which stands face to face with the enemy and pays dearly for every mistake. This experience is worth thinking about. Developing systematically, it passed from a corporate form that was casual and vague to a corporate form elevated to the status of a system of organisation and permeating all the institutions of the army; and now, as a general tendency, it has arrived at the principle of one-man responsibility as the only correct method of work. In any sphere of Soviet work you will find a small number of politically-conscious proletarians, a mass of less developed proletarians and, as the substratum, a huge mass of peasants, all of whose habits tend towards private enterprise and, consequently, towards freedom of trade and profiteering, which the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and non-party people call freedom, but which we call the heritage of capitalism. These are the conditions under which we have to act, and they call for relevant methods. And taking the experience of the army, we find in the organisation of its administration a systematic development from the original forms, from the corporate principle to the individual principle, which is now being applied there in at least a half of all cases.

"At best, corporate management involves a tremendous waste of forces and is not suited to the rapid and accurate work demanded by the conditions of centralised large-scale industry. If you take the advocates of corporate management, you will find that their resolutions formulate, in an extremely abstract way, the concept that every member of a collegium must be held individually responsible for the fulfilment of its tasks. That for us is now elementary. But those of you who have had practical experience know that only in one case out of a hundred is this actually adhered to. In the vast majority of cases it remains on paper. No member of a collegium is assigned precise duties and held personally responsible for the performance of those duties. Generally, there is no verification of work done. Let us assume that the Central Committee of a trade union nominates Vasily

Vasilyevich Vasilyev for some office, and you ask to see a list of assignments performed by him and verified by efficient people—you will not get anything of the kind. We are all of us only just beginning to adopt really efficient methods.

"Our fault is that we imagine we can do everything ourselves. Our most acute shortcoming is a lack of executives, yet we do not know how to draw them from the rank-and-file workers and peasants, among whom there is an abundance of talented administrators and organisers. It would be much better if we abandoned general, and in most cases absolutely sterile, controversy for business-like methods, and that as soon as possible. We would then really be carrying out the duties of organisers of the advanced class, and would pick out hundreds and thousands of new talented organisers. We must promote them, test them, assign them tasks, tasks of greater and greater complexity. I hope that after the Congress of the Economic Councils, after having reviewed the work done, we shall take this path and increase and multiply the number of organisers, so as to reinforce and enlarge that exceedingly thin layer which has been worn to shreds during the past two years. For in order to accomplish the task we are setting ourselves, that of saving Russia from poverty, hunger and cold, we need ten times more organisers, who would be answerable to tens of millions of people.

"The second of the questions which interest us most is that of the labour armies.

"The task confronting us here concerns the transition from one stage of activity to another. The stage that was wholly taken up by war is not yet over but there are a number of signs which show that the Russian capitalists will not be able to continue the war, although there is no doubt that they will attempt to invade Russia. And we must be on our guard. Nevertheless, the war they launched against us two years ago has, by and large, ended in victory for us, and we are now going over to peaceful tasks.

"The peculiar character of this transition must be understood. Here we have a country which is in a state of utter ruin, a country suffering from hunger and cold, where poverty has reached desperate extremes, and in that country the people have risen in their might, and gained confidence

in themselves when they realised that they are capable of withstanding the entire world—without exaggeration, the entire world, for the entire capitalist world has suffered defeat. And in these peculiar conditions we are proposing to form a labour army to solve urgent problems.

"We must concentrate on the main thing, namely, on collecting grain and transporting it to the centre. Every deviation from this task, the least diffusion of effort, will entail the gravest peril, the ruin of our cause. And in order to utilise our apparatus with the greatest possible dispatch, we must create a labour army. You already have the theses of the Central Committee and the reports on this subject, and I shall not go into the actual details of the question. I only want to say that at this moment of transition from civil war to the new tasks we must transfer everything to the labour front and there concentrate all our forces, with the utmost effort and with ruthless, military determination. We shall not allow any deviations now. In launching this slogan we declare that we must strain all the live forces of the workers and peasants to the utmost and demand that they give us every help in this matter. And then, by creating a labour army, by harnessing all the forces of the workers and peasants, we shall accomplish our main task. We shall succeed in procuring hundreds of millions of poods of grain. We have them already. But it will require incredible effort, devilish effort, the harnessing of all the forces of the country, added to military determination and energy, to get these hundreds of millions of poods of grain and transport them to the centre. Here, in the centre, we shall be engaged chiefly in drawing up a plan for this and shall be talking chiefly of this; as to all other questions—finance, industrial development and all questions relating to broad programmes—they should not be allowed to divert our attention at the moment. That is the chief thing facing us today—to resist the danger of being carried away by far-reaching plans and schemes. We must concentrate on the chief and fundamental thing, and not permit attention to be diverted from the main task we have set ourselves, namely, to procure grain and foodstuffs, to procure them through the state, at fixed prices, in the socialist way of the workers' state—and not in the capitalist way, by means of profiteering—and to transport them

to the centre, overcoming the chaos on the railways. It would be a crime on anybody's part to forget this task.

"In order to place the performance of our main task on more or less correct lines, the leaders of all our government bodies, and of the economic councils in particular, must rouse the activities of tens of millions of workers and peasants. For this purpose a broad plan for the reconstruction of Russia will be drawn up. We have sufficient means for it: resources, technical potentialities, raw materials, everything required to enable us to begin this work of reconstruction everywhere, enlisting all the workers and peasants. We shall launch a persistent struggle, comrades, a struggle which will demand heavy sacrifices during this period on the labour front, but it is a struggle we must inevitably wage, because we are suffering from hunger, cold, transport dislocation and typhus. We must combat these evils and begin everywhere to build up our state on the basis of large-scale, machine-industry methods, so as to make our country a cultured country and, by a correct socialist struggle, get out of the quagmire in which the countries of world capitalism and imperialism are at present submerged."

Pravda No. 19,
January 29, 1920

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TO MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE

February 1

The situation on the railways is catastrophic in the extreme. *The delivery of grain has ceased*. Truly urgent measures are needed to save the country. In the course of two months (February and March) the following measures must be effected (and other relevant measures of a similar nature must be sought):

I. The personal bread ration to be *reduced* for those not working on the railways and *increased* for those working on them.

Let more thousands perish but the country will be saved.

II. Three-fourths of the leading executives of all departments, except the Commissariats of Food and the Army, to be taken for the railways and for repair work for these two months. The work of other commissariats to be discontinued (or reduced to one-tenth) correspondingly for these two months.

III. *Introduce martial law* over an area stretching to 30-50 versts *on either side of the railway line* to mobilise labour to clear the line, and transfer to the *volosts within that area* three-fourths of all high-ranking functionaries of the volost and uyezd executive committees of the gubernia concerned.

First published in 1924

Published according to the manuscript

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS DELIVERED AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SEVENTH CONVOCATION[97] FEBRUARY 2, 1920

Comrades, my report on the activities of the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, whose functions in periods between meetings have been carried out by the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, falls naturally into two main subdivisions—the first on foreign policy, the Soviet Republic's international position, and the second on internal development and our main economic tasks. Allow me to present to you in that order the main facts of our work during the period under review, i.e., during the past two months.

As far as the Soviet Republic's international position is concerned, it has been determined in the main by the successes of the Red Army. As you know, the last remnants of Kolchak's army in the Far East have been almost wiped out, while the rivalry and enmity between Japan and America, nominally allies, are becoming more and more obvious and prevent them from fully developing their onslaught against the Soviet Republic. After the annihilation of Yudenich's troops and after the capture, in the South, of Novocherkassk and Rostov-on-Don in early January, their main forces suffered so decisive a blow that the Soviet Republic's

military position radically changed, and although the war was not over, every country saw clearly that its former hopes of crushing the military forces of the Soviet Republic had collapsed.

Acknowledgement of this radical change in the Soviet Republic's international position was shown by the wireless message to us (not delivered officially) of the decision of the Allied Council adopted on January 16 to lift the blockade against the Soviet Republic. The main section of the decision taken by the Council says ... (*reads*).[98]

There is no need for me to criticise the diplomacy contained in this formulation; it is so striking that it is not worth wasting time saying that the attitude of the Allies to Russia remains unchanged. If that is how the Allies understand their policy—that the lifting of the blockade does not change it—then it shows how unsound their policy is. The importance of this decision for us, however, is in its economic, not its political, aspect. Lifting the blockade is a fact of major international significance showing that a new stage in the socialist revolution has begun. For the blockade was in fact the principal, really strong weapon with which the imperialists of the world wanted to strangle Soviet Russia.

At the last Congress of Soviets I had occasion to state and expand the idea that the struggle against Soviet Russia had resulted, not only in the workers and peasants of France, Britain and other advanced countries forcing the imperialists to renounce the struggle, but in the mass of the petty bourgeoisie within these countries becoming opponents of the blockade. And of course, this opposition by the middle sections of the population in countries like Britain and France was bound to influence international imperialist policy. Knowing their brand of diplomacy, we cannot expect them to act in a straightforward manner, without any reservations, without wanting to restore the past, or by some cunning trick or other return to their previous policy, which they cannot pursue openly at the moment. It must be said, however, that on the whole we have gained tremendous victories, that we have even been able to deprive the Allies of a weapon which only they possessed—the navy, despite the fact that waverers tried to scare us by saying the navy

was invincible. Nevertheless, the development of political relations showed that even this invincible navy was in no fit state to fight us. We, who were unable to put up any naval resistance, forced the imperialist powers to abandon this weapon.

Of course, this change in policy on the international scene does not have an immediate effect, but the fact remains that we have now entered the sphere of world-wide international relations, and this enables us to get support from the more advanced countries. It is true that economically and financially these countries are in a sorry plight, they are all going downhill, and we cannot expect much from them; but with the opportunity to develop our own industry, we can count on receiving machinery for production, machinery for the restoration of our industry. And above all, that which had cut us off completely, by means of the blockade, from the advanced countries, has been broken down.

After the Allied Council had been forced to abandon this weapon our victories in the field of international politics continued, the greatest of them being that we succeeded in concluding peace with Estonia. We received a communication from Joffe and Gukovsky today saying: "Today, February 2, at 2 a.m. Moscow time, peace was concluded between Russia and Estonia. The Estonian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Birk, arrived from Revel to sign the document."

Comrades, the text of this peace document which was discussed at great length and is of tremendous importance has been sent by messenger who should arrive tomorrow morning, but we have now received the exact text by telegraph, and it will be distributed tomorrow. It will be discussed and ratified. This document is of the highest importance to us. The peace treaty between Russia and Estonia is of epoch-making significance. We have succeeded in concluding a peace treaty with a government which is also becoming democratic and whose relations with us will now be stable, but which up to now has been supported by the whole imperialist world. Therefore we must regard this as an act of tremendous historical importance.

We know that people who stand between imperialism and democracy usually go over to one side or the other. So you

see, we have undoubtedly gained a victory, because peace has been concluded, and this government must now proceed against our enemy. The theoretical significance of this fact is that in the imperialist epoch the whole world is split into a vast number of big and small states, the small states being absolutely helpless, an insignificant group compared to the rich powers which completely dominate a number of small, weak states. Imperialism is the epoch in which the division of the whole world takes place, when the whole of the world's population is divided into a minority of exploiting, oppressor countries, and a majority of countries with small, weak populations that exist in a state of colonial dependence on the minority.

When we won peace with Estonia we proved that we were able to go forward as a proletarian and communist state. How have we done this? We have shown all the belligerent Entente powers who are opposed to peace that the sympathy we are able to evoke among our opponents and bourgeois governments, the sympathy of a small country, is more powerful than all that military oppression, all that financial aid and all those economic ties which link that small country to the powerful world states. The Entente has seen that it is not only when we use force that we are able to win; we are in a position to refute the lie and slander spread against us by the bourgeois governments of the world when they say the Bolsheviks retain power by force alone. What was it that enabled us to prevail over the combined forces of world imperialism in regard to Estonia, a country which had always suffered violence at the hands of the Russia of the tsars and landowners? It was our proving our ability to renounce, in all sincerity, the use of force at the appropriate moment, in order to change to a peace policy, and so win the sympathy of the bourgeois government of a small country, regardless of all the support given it by international capital. This is a fact of historical significance. Estonia is a small country, a small republic, but she is oppressed economically and militarily in a thousand and one ways by world imperialist capital, so much so that her entire population comes under this oppression. And this peace now proves that we can, in spite of our exhaustion, weakness and disarray, gain the upper hand over the

whiteguard army with its imperialist backing. The powerful Entente knows how to reply to force with even more triumphant force, but this peace proves that we do not have to resort to force to win the sympathy and support of the bourgeoisie.

A most difficult international problem has arisen here. The rate of capitalist development in different countries varies; this development takes place under different conditions, in various ways and by various means. A socialist republic in one country exists alongside all the capitalist countries of the world and causes their bourgeoisie to waver. From this they concluded that our position was a hopeless one; we had defeated the whiteguards by force, but what, they asked, were we going to do about the rest of the world? We shall defeat that too. The peace with Estonia proves that this is no empty phrase. The entire pressure of international capital was overcome in that area where our rejection of the use of force was recognised to be sincere. "Don't make peace with the Bolsheviks, otherwise we shall conquer you by starvation; we shall give you neither financial nor economic aid," said world capital. And Estonia proved to be one of the small, formally independent countries which said to herself, "We rely more on the fact that the Bolsheviks are able to live in peace with other, weaker nations, even with a bourgeois government, than we do on the whole powerful democratic countries of the Entente."

Democracy is most clearly manifested in the fundamental question of war and peace. All the powers are preparing a fresh imperialist war, and this is seen daily by the workers of the world. Any day now America and Japan will hurl themselves at each other; Britain grabbed so many colonies after her victory over Germany that the other imperialist powers will never resign themselves to this. A new fanatical war is being prepared, and the people are aware of this. And just at this moment Russia, with her huge forces, who is accused of intending to fling those forces against a small state as soon as she has finished with Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin—Russia has concluded a democratic peace with Estonia. Furthermore, the terms of the peace treaty provide for a number of territorial concessions on our part which

do not completely correspond to the strict observance of the principle of self-determination of nations, and prove in practice that the question of frontiers is of secondary importance to us, the question of peaceful relations, however, the question of our ability to await the development of the conditions of life of each nation, is not only an important question of principle, it is also a matter in which we have succeeded in winning the confidence of nations hostile to us. It is no accident that we have achieved this in relation to Estonia; it is evidence that the weak proletarian republic, existing in isolation and apparently helpless, has begun to win to its side countries dependent on the imperialist states—and they constitute the vast majority. That is why our peace with Estonia is of such great historical significance. No matter how the Entente strives to start a war—even if it succeeds in turning peace once again into war—the fact will remain, firmly established in history, that despite all the pressure of international capital we were able to inspire greater confidence in a small country ruled by the bourgeoisie than the so-called democratic, but in reality predatory, imperialist bourgeoisie.

We by chance came to possess some very interesting documents showing how our policy compared with that of the allegedly democratic, but in actual fact predatory, powers of the whole world, which please permit me to read to you. These documents were furnished by a whiteguard officer or official named Oleinikov who was commissioned by one whiteguard government to hand over some highly important documents to another. But he handed them over to us instead.[99] (*Applause.*) It proved possible to send these documents to Russia, and I shall read them to you, although it will take some time to do so. Nevertheless, they are very interesting for they very clearly reveal the hidden springs of policy. The first document is a telegram to Minister Gulkevich from Sazonov:

Paris, October 14, 1919, No. 668.

S. D. Sazonov conveys his respects to Konstantin Nikolayevich, and has the honour to enclose for his information copies of a telegram from B. A. Bakhmetev, No. 1050, and a telegram from I. I. Sukin, No. 23, on the situation in the Baltic Provinces.

Then comes a more interesting document—a telegram from Washington dated October 11:

Received October 12, 1919. File No. 3346.
Bakhmetev to the Minister.
Washington, October 11, 1919, No. 1050.
Further to my telegram No. 1045.
(In code) The State Department acquainted me verbally with the instructions given to Gade. He is appointed the Commissar of the American Government in the Baltic Provinces of Russia. He is not accredited to any Russian Government. His mission is to observe and inform. His behaviour must not lead the local population to expect that the American Government could agree to support separatist trends going beyond autonomy. On the contrary, the American Government trusts that the population of the Baltic Provinces will help their Russian brothers in their work of general state importance. The instructions are based on the interpretation of the agreement of the Allied governments with the Supreme Ruler as outlined in my memorandum of June 17 to the government. Gade has been given extracts from the recent speeches of the President in which he fulminates against Bolshevism.

So, the American Government intimates that its representative can issue any kind of instructions but may not support independence, i.e., may not guarantee the independence of these states. This is what directly or indirectly came to light, and Estonia could not be kept in ignorance of the fact that she was being deceived by the Great Powers. Of course, everyone could have guessed this, but now we have the documents and they will be published:

Received October 12, 1919. File No. 3347
Sukin to the Minister.
Omsk, October 9, 1919, No. 28.
(In code) Knox has given the Supreme Ruler the message of the British War Office in which the latter warns of the inclination of the Baltic states to conclude a peace with the Bolsheviks who guarantee them immediate recognition of their independence. At the same time the British War Office raises the question of the advisability of paralysing this pledge by satisfying, in its turn, the wishes of the states indicated. We replied to Knox by referring to the principles outlined in the Note of the Supreme Ruler to the Powers on June 4, and, in addition, we pointed out that the conclusion of a peace between the Baltic states and the Bolsheviks would be undoubtedly fraught with danger since this would permit the release of part of the Soviet forces and would clear the way to the infiltration of Bolshevism in the West. The mere fact that they are ready to talk peace is in our opinion evidence of the utter demoralisation of the parties of these self-governing entities

which cannot protect themselves from the penetration of aggressive Bolshevism.

Expressing the conviction that the Powers could not approve of the further spread of Bolshevism, we pointed to the necessity of withdrawing all aid from the Baltic states since this would be a real means of exerting influence by the Powers, and is more advisable than competition in promises with the Bolsheviks, who now have nothing to lose.

In transmitting the above, I would request you to make similar representations in Paris and London; we are making a special approach to Bakhmetev.

Received October 9, 1919. File No. 3286.
Sablin to the Minister.
London, October 7, 1919, No. 677.

(In code) In a letter to Guchkov, the Director of Military Operations of the War Office, to whom Guchkov made an offer of our shipping in order to facilitate the delivery of supplies to Yudenich by the British, states that in the opinion of the War Office Yudenich has all that he requires at the moment, and that Britain is experiencing some difficulty in providing further supplies. He adds, however, that as we have shipping, we could arrange supplies for Yudenich on a commercial basis, providing we obtain credits. At the same time General Radcliffe admits that Yudenich's army must be properly equipped since it is "the only force among the Baltic states able to engage in active operations against the Bolsheviks".

Minister to Bakhmetev in Washington.
Paris, September 30, 1919, No. 2442.

(In code) From a strictly confidential Swedish source I learn that the American envoy in Stockholm, Morris, is talking about growing sympathy in America towards the Bolsheviks and of intentions to cease aid to Kolchak in order to enter into contacts with Moscow in the interests of American trade. Such statements on the part of an official representative make a strange impression.

Received October 5, 1919. File No. 3244.
Bakhmetev to the Minister.
Washington, October 4, 1919, No. 1021.
Further to your telegram No. 2442.

(In code) The State Department informed me in confidence that it is true that the envoy in Stockholm, Morris, and particularly Hapgood in Copenhagen, are well known for their Left sympathies, but that they have no influence or authority here, and that the government is obliged to admonish them from time to time, categorically pointing out that American policy is one of undeviating support of our government in the struggle against the Bolsheviks.

Here are all the documents which we shall publish and which clearly show how the battle went on around Estonia, how the Entente, Britain and France, together with Kol-

chak and America, all brought pressure to bear on Estonia with the one aim of preventing the signing of a peace treaty with the Bolsheviks, and how the Bolsheviks, pledging themselves to territorial concessions and guaranteeing independence, won this trial of strength. I state that this victory is of gigantic historical significance, because it has been gained without the use of force. This victory over world imperialism is a victory that is bringing the Bolsheviks the sympathy of the whole world. This victory by no means denotes that universal peace will be concluded immediately; but it does show that we-represent the peace interests of the majority of the world's population against the imperialist war-mongers. Such an assessment of the situation has induced bourgeois Estonia, an opponent of communism, to conclude peace with us. Since we, a proletarian state, a Soviet republic, are concluding a peace treaty, since we are acting in a spirit of peace towards bourgeois governments oppressed by the great magnates of imperialism, we must be able to decide from this how our international policy is to be shaped.

The main task we set ourselves is to defeat the exploiters and to win to our side the waverers—this is a task of historic significance. Among the waverers are a whole number of bourgeois states which, as bourgeois states, detest us, but which, on the other hand, as oppressed states, prefer peace with us. This explains the peace with Estonia. This peace is, of course, only a first step, and its influence will only be felt in the future, but that it will be felt is a fact. Up to now we have negotiated with Latvia only through the Red Cross,[100] and the same is true of our negotiations with the Polish Government. I repeat—the peace with Estonia is bound to influence events because the basis is identical; the same attempts are being made to goad Latvia and Poland into making war on Russia as were made in the case of Estonia. Perhaps these attempts will prove successful, and since war with Poland is possible, we must be vigilant, but we are certain—this has been demonstrated by our main achievements—that we can conclude peace and make concessions which permit the development of any form of democracy. This is now especially important because the Polish question is particularly acute. We have received a

number of communications indicating that apart from bourgeois, conservative, landowning Poland, apart from the pressure being exerted by all capitalist parties in Poland, all the Entente powers are doing their utmost to incite Poland to make war against us.

As you know, the Council of People's Commissars has issued an appeal to the working people of Poland.[101] We are going to ask you to endorse this appeal as a means of fighting that campaign of calumny in which Polish landowning circles are engaged. We shall submit an additional text of an appeal to the working people of Poland. This appeal will be a blow to the imperialist powers, who are doing their utmost to incite Poland against us; for us the interests of the majority of the people take first place.

I shall now acquaint you with a telegram intercepted by us yesterday, which illustrates the attempts of American capital to present us in a certain light and thereby drag us into a war with Poland. The telegram says (*reads*). I have said and heard nothing of the sort, but they are able to lie because it is not for nothing that they spend their money on spreading lying rumours that have a definite aim. Their bourgeois government guarantees them this. (*Continues reading the telegram.*) This telegram was sent from Europe to America and was paid for out of capitalist funds; it serves as a shameless means of provoking a war with Poland. American capital is doing its utmost to bring pressure to bear on Poland and does this unashamedly, making it appear that the Bolsheviks want to finish with Kolchak and Denikin in order to throw all their "iron troops" against Poland.

It is important that we should here and now endorse the decision of the Council of People's Commissars, and then we must do what we did previously in relation to other states, and also what we did in regard to the troops of Kolchak and Denikin. We must immediately appeal to the Polish people and explain the real state of affairs. We know full well that this method of ours has a most positive effect in tending to disrupt the ranks of our enemy. And in the end, this method will lead on to the path we need, the path on to which it has led the working population of all countries. This policy must make a definite beginning—no matter

how difficult this may prove—and once a beginning is made, we shall carry it through to completion.

I must mention that we have been pursuing the same policy in respect of all other countries. We invited Georgia and Azerbaijan to conclude an agreement against Denikin. They refused, pleading non-interference in the affairs of other countries. We shall see how the workers and peasants of Georgia and Azerbaijan regard this.

This policy has been applied even more cautiously in respect of the Western nations than in dealing with the nations of Russia. It involved such countries as Latvia, Estonia, Poland and, on the other hand, a number of Eastern countries whose developmental level is the same as that of most of those colonial countries which constitute the majority of the world's population. They are kept down by Britain, who continues to hold colonial slaves under her sway. Our policy in relation to West-European countries has been very cautious—it will take some time for them to get over their own Kerensky period—but our policy in the East must be even more cautious and patient, for here we are dealing with countries that are much more backward, are under the oppressive influence of religious fanaticism, are imbued with greater distrust of the Russian people, and for decades and centuries were oppressed by the tsarist government's capitalist and imperialist policy, by the policy conducted towards these nations by Russia as the dominant nation.

We have granted autonomy to the Bashkir Republic.[102] We must found an autonomous Tatar Republic.[103] We shall continue the same policy in relation to all the Eastern peoples, and say to ourselves that we, who are faced by a huge front of imperialist powers, we, who are fighting imperialism, represent an alliance that requires close military unity, and any attempt to violate this unity we regard as absolutely impermissible, as a betrayal of the struggle against international imperialism. However, in implementing this policy we must be even more cautious. For if the European countries have to go through a Kerensky period, in the countries that are at a lower developmental level there are even greater elements of distrust, and it will require more time to influence them. We support the independence

and sovereignty of these countries. We appeal to their working people. We say: unity of the military forces is imperative; any deviation from this unity is impermissible.

We are confident that, by systematically pursuing our policy of close alliance, we shall achieve greater success than before in our relations with the peoples of the East. And our success is already great. The Soviet Republic enjoys tremendous popularity among all the Eastern peoples for the same reason that made it possible for us to conclude a peace treaty with a small Western state, because they see in us an unswerving fighter against imperialism, because ours is the only republic which is waging a war against imperialism and is capable of utilising every situation without the use of force, and which is also able to gain a victory by renouncing the use of force.

Needless to say, a far more perfected variety of this policy is being implemented in relation to the Ukrainian Republic. Here the problem has been simplified by the prior conclusion of an agreement between the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.[104] On the basis of this agreement, which implies a close federation of both republics in the struggle against the imperialist countries, we are building an ever closer alliance. As a result of their bitter experience of Denikin's rule, the mass of Ukrainian peasants and workers are becoming convinced that only the closest alliance between the Ukraine and the Russian Republic will be really invincible in the face of international imperialism, and that at the time of struggle against imperialism there is nothing to be gained by the separation of the Ukrainian state, since imperialism will take advantage of every division to crush Soviet power. Such a division is criminal. Our policy is taking deep root in the Ukraine, and we are confident that the forthcoming All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets of Workers and Peasants will officially endorse this policy. These are the few remarks to which I must limit myself on the question of the international situation. I shall ask this session to endorse all the practical proposals I have to make (I have enumerated them) on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.

In passing on to the work of internal development I must first deal with certain measures taken by our government, and then proceed to the most important matter of all—the change-over to a new course, the transition from military tasks to those of state organisation.

In regard to our internal policy for the two months under review, among the main measures which more or less stand out from a number of current tasks, the following decision requiring the endorsement of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee is of particular importance. This is the decision to abolish the death penalty. As you know, immediately after the main victory over Denikin, after the capture of Rostov, Comrade Dzerzhinsky, the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, who is in charge of the Cheka, submitted a proposal to the Council of People's Commissars, and had it endorsed in his own department, that the passing of all death sentences by the Cheka be abolished. When bourgeois democracy in Europe does all in its power to spread the lies that Soviet Russia is predominantly terrorist, when this lie is spread about us by bourgeois democracy and by the socialists of the Second International, when Kautsky writes a special book entitled *Terrorism and Communism* in which he declares that communist power is based on terrorism, then you can well imagine the kind of lies spread on this subject. In order to refute this lie we have decided on the step taken by Comrade Dzerzhinsky, endorsed by the Council of People's Commissars, and which now needs the approval of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.

We were forced to use terror in response to the terror employed by the Entente, when the mighty powers of the world flung their hordes against us, stopping at nothing. We could not have lasted two days had we not replied to these attempts of officers and whiteguards in a merciless fashion. This meant the use of terror, but this was forced on us by the terrorist methods of the Entente. But as soon as we had gained a decisive victory, even before the end of the war, immediately after the capture of Rostov, we renounced capital punishment, and have therefore proved that we intend to carry out our own programme as we had promised. We say that the use of violence arises from the need to crush the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists.

When this is accomplished we shall renounce all extraordinary measures. We have proved this in practice. And I think, I hope, and I am confident that the All-Russia Central Executive Committee will unanimously endorse this measure of the Council of People's Commissars and will implement it in such a way that it will be impossible to apply the death penalty in Russia. Needless to say, any attempt by the Entente to resume methods of war will force us to reintroduce the former terror; we know that we are living in a time of the law of the jungle, when kind words are of no avail. This is what we had in mind, and as soon as the decisive struggle was over, we immediately began to abolish measures which all other powers apply without any time limit having been set.

Further, I should like to refer to the discussion on Workers' Inspection. There is to be a special report on this subject, and it would be wrong of me to dwell too long on it. The most important problem confronting us here is that of drawing the mass of people into administrative work. This is a more acute problem than the task of large-scale development. You will be presented with detailed plans, and when you have discussed and amended them, you will understand that this development must continue with far greater participation by the mass of the workers. This is our main task, with which it is extremely difficult to get to grips in the existing chaos, but nevertheless we are approaching it steadily.

There is another question before us—the question of the co-operatives. We have set ourselves the task of uniting the whole population in co-operatives that differ from those previously existing and which at best embraced only the upper sections of the population.

Socialism would be impossible if it did not make use of the technical knowledge, culture and the apparatus created by bourgeois, capitalist civilisation. Part of this apparatus is the co-operative movement whose growth is all the greater the higher the level of capitalist development in a country. We have set our co-operative movement the task of embracing the whole country. Up to now the co-operative movement involved only top sections and benefited those able to pay their dues. The working people, however, were

unable to make use of its services. We have resolutely broken with this type of co-operative, but not so that the co-operative movement as such is completely wiped out, for in March and April 1918 we set the co-operatives the task of drawing in the whole population. If there are any co-operators who value the ideas of the founders of the co-operative movement (the old aims of co-operation were to satisfy the needs of the working people), they will sympathise with this aim. We are certain that we have the sympathy of the majority of the members of the co-operative organisations, although we are by no means under the illusion that we have won to our side the majority of the leaders, who subscribe to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views, who see co-operation merely as another form of capitalist economy and as the notorious freedom of trade which means fortunes for the few and ruin for the majority. Instead of this, we announced the country-wide task of the co-operatives to really begin catering for the working people so that they embrace the whole population. This could not be accomplished at once. We have set ourselves this aim and have worked systematically, and will go on working, to achieve it, so that ultimately all the population will be united in co-operatives; and we can say with certainty that the whole of the Soviet Republic, perhaps in a few weeks, or in a few months, will become one great co-operative of working people. After this the development of independent activity by the working people, their participation in state development will proceed along even broader lines.

In accomplishing this, we have decided that all types, not only consumers', but producers', credit, and other co-operatives should, by appropriate stages and with due care, be amalgamated into a Central Union of Consumers' Societies. We are confident that our steps in this direction will meet with the approval of the Central Executive Committee and functionaries in the localities who, after the formal amalgamation of the co-operatives, will, by their work of economic development, into which they will draw the majority of the workers and peasants, achieve what we regard as one of the major tasks—that of making the co-operative movement another prime factor in the struggle against red tape, this legacy from the old capitalist state, a struggle

which our programme also declares to be of the highest importance. We shall carry on this struggle in all offices and departments by every means and, incidentally, through the amalgamation of the co-operatives and by shifting the appeal from the bourgeois top people in the co-operatives to the genuine working people, who must all undertake independent work in co-operative organisation.

From among the problems of internal development I now wish to refer to what has been done in the sphere of agriculture. In order to place land tenure on a proper basis, the People's Commissar for Agriculture in July 1919 issued a circular on measures against the frequent redistribution of allotted land. This circular was published on July 1 in *Izvestia* and was included in the *Collection of Statutes and Decrees of the Workers' and Peasants' Government*. This circular is important because it meets the many suggestions and demands of the peasants who pointed out that the frequent reallotment of the land in conditions of small-scale farming prevented better labour discipline and the higher productivity of labour. This view is shared by the Council of People's Commissars which has instructed the Commissariat of Agriculture to work out a draft decree on reallotment procedures. This draft will be considered shortly. Similarly, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture has set itself the task of implementing a number of urgent measures to restore livestock and farm equipment. In this connection the systematic efforts of local officials themselves are extremely important, and we hope that the members of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee will bring the appropriate pressure to bear on the authorities and render assistance, so that these measures of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture can be put into effect in the shortest space of time.

I shall now turn to the last, and in reality, the most important problem of our development—the problem of the labour armies and the labour mobilisation of the population. The most difficult task in the sharp turns and changes of social life is that of taking due account of the peculiar features of each transition. How socialists should fight within a capitalist society is not a difficult problem and has long since been settled. Nor is it difficult to visualise

advanced socialist society. This problem has also been settled. But the most difficult task of all is how, in practice, to effect the transition from the old, customary, familiar capitalism to the new socialism, as yet unborn and without any firm foundations. At best this transition will take many years, in the course of which our policy will be divided into a number of even smaller stages. And the whole difficulty of the task which falls to our lot, the whole difficulty of politics and the art of politics, lies in the ability to take into account the specific tasks of each of these transitions.

We have only just solved—though not yet fully—the problem of the war in its principal and basic features. Our main task was to repel at all costs the attack of the whiteguards. Everything for the war effort, we said, and this was the correct policy. We are fully aware that it caused unparalleled hardships in the rear such as cold, famine and devastation. But the very fact that the Red Army—which, incidentally, is appreciated in the way shown by the examples I have read out to you—has resolved this problem in a most backward country proves that new forces do exist in the country. Otherwise the creation of this model army, and its victory over far better equipped armies, would have been inconceivable. But now we have geared the entire state apparatus to this task and have succeeded in surmounting the specific features of the problem—the subordination of everything to the war effort—the situation demands a swift and sharp change in policy. We have not yet finished the war. We must maintain our military readiness intact, we must destroy Denikin's troops, we must show the landowners and capitalists of every country that if they want to deal with Russia by war, they will meet the same fate as Kolchak and Denikin. We must not take a single step, therefore, which would weaken our military strength. At the same time, however, we must switch the whole country on to a different course, reconstruct its whole mechanism. We can no longer gear everything to the war effort, and we have no need to, because in the main the problem of the war has been solved.

The task of the transition from war to peaceful development arises in such peculiar conditions that we cannot

disband the army, since we have to allow, say, for the possibility of an attack by that selfsame Poland or any of the powers which the Entente continues to incite against us. This specific feature of the problem of not being able to reduce our military forces, yet at the same time having to switch the whole of the Soviet state machine which is geared to war on to the new course of peaceful economic development, demands exceptional attention. It is the type of problem that general formulas, the general provisions of a programme, general communist principles cannot cope with, but which requires that the specific features of the transition from capitalism to communism be taken into consideration, the transition from the position of a country whose whole attention has been concentrated on the war to the position of a country which has won a decisive military victory and must go on to solve economic questions by military methods, because the situation, as you all realise, is extremely grave. The end of the winter will bring, has already brought, the working people unbelievable hardships—cold, famine, devastation. We must overcome this at all costs. We know that we can do this. It has been proved by the enthusiasm of the Red Army.

If, up to the present, we were able to battle on, surrounded on all sides and cut off from the richest areas of grain and coal, now that we possess all this, now that it is possible to solve the problems of economic development jointly with the Ukraine, we can solve the main problem—to acquire large quantities of grain and foodstuffs, deliver them to the industrial centres so that industrial development can begin. We must concentrate all our efforts on this task. It is inadmissible to allow ourselves to be diverted from it to any other practical task. It has to be solved by military methods, with absolute ruthlessness and by the absolute suppression of all other interests. We know that a whole number of perfectly legitimate demands and interests will go by the board, but if it were not for these sacrifices, we should not have won the war. The situation now demands that we make a sharp and swift turn towards the creation of a basis for peaceful economic development. This basis must be the acquisition of great stocks of food and their transportation to the central region; it is the task of the railways to

deliver raw materials and provisions. From August 1917 to August 1918 we collected 30 million poods of grain, in the second year 110 million, and now in five months 90 million have been collected by our Commissariat of Food, collected by socialist, not capitalist methods, by compulsory delivery of grain by the peasants at fixed prices, and not by selling on the free market—and this means that we have found the way. We are certain that it is the correct way and that it will enable us to achieve results which will ensure tremendous economic development.

All our forces must be dedicated to this task, all our military forces, which came to the fore in war-time organisation, must be switched on to this new path. This is the specific situation, the specific transition, which engendered the idea of labour armies and led to the law on the creation of the first labour army in the Urals and of the Ukrainian labour army. It was followed by the law on the utilisation of the army reserves for civilian labour and the decree issued by the Soviet government on the Committees for Labour Conscription.[105] All these laws will be outlined to you by a member of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee in a fully detailed report. I naturally cannot trespass on this ground because the special report will throw sufficient light upon it. I only emphasise its significance in relation to our general policy, the significance of this transition which confronts us with its specific tasks, for which we must redouble our efforts like soldiers, to organise them so that we can lay in large stocks of food and deliver them to the industrial centres. To achieve this we must at all costs create labour armies, organise ourselves like an army, reduce, even close down a whole number of institutions so that in the next few months, no matter what happens, we can overcome transport dislocation, and emerge from this desperate situation of cold, famine and impoverishment brought by the end of winter. We must and can get out of this situation. When the All-Russia Central Executive Committee endorses all the measures connected with labour conscription and the labour armies, when it has succeeded in instilling these ideas in the broad mass of the population and demands that they be put into practice by local officials—we are absolutely convinced that then we shall be able

to cope with this most difficult of tasks, while not in the least degree weakening our military readiness.

We must at all costs, without weakening our military readiness, switch the Soviet Republic on to the new course of economic development. This task must be accomplished in the next few weeks, possibly months. Every Soviet or Party organisation must do everything in its power to end the transport dislocation and increase the grain stocks.

Then, and only then, shall we have a basis, a sound basis for industrial development on a wide scale, for the electrification of Russia. In order to prove to the population, and in particular to the peasants, that our extensive plans in this field are not fantasies, but are borne out by and based on technology and science, I think we should adopt a resolution—I hope the Central Executive Committee will endorse it—recommending that the Supreme Economic Council and the Commissariat of Agriculture jointly draft a plan for the electrification of Russia.

Thanks to the aid of the State Publishing House and the energy of the workers at the former Kushnerev Printing Works, now the 17th State Printing Works, I succeeded in getting Krzhizhanovsky's pamphlet *The Main Tasks of the Electrification of Russia* published at very short notice, and tomorrow it will be distributed to all members of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. This pamphlet of Comrade Krzhizhanovsky's, who works in the Electro-Technical Sub-Department of the Supreme Economic Council, summarises what has already been achieved and raises questions, the popularisation of which, not the practical application, is now one of the most important tasks.

I hope that the Central Executive Committee will adopt this resolution which, in the name of the Central Executive Committee, instructs the Supreme Economic Council and the People's Commissariat of Agriculture to work out in the course of the next few months—our practical tasks during this period will be different—with the aid of scientists and engineers a broad and complete plan for the electrification of Russia. The author of this pamphlet is absolutely correct in choosing as its motto the saying: "The age of steam is the age of the bourgeoisie, the age of electricity is the age of socialism." We must have a new technical foun-

dation for the new economic development. This new technical foundation is electricity, and everything will have to be built on this foundation, but it will take many long years. We shall not be afraid of working ten or twenty years, but we must prove to the peasants that in place of the old separation of industry from agriculture, this very deep contradiction on which capitalism thrived and which sowed dissension between the industrial and agricultural workers, we set ourselves the task of returning to the peasant the loan we received from him in the form of grain, for we know that paper money, of course, is not the equivalent of bread. We must repay this loan by organising industry and supplying the peasants with its products. We must show the peasants that the organisation of industry on the basis of modern, advanced technology, on electrification which will provide a link between town and country, will put an end to the division between town and country, will make it possible to raise the level of culture in the countryside and to overcome, even in the most remote corners of the land, backwardness, ignorance, poverty, disease and barbarism. We shall tackle the problem as soon as we have dealt with our current, basic task, and we shall not allow ourselves to be deflected for a single moment from the fundamental practical task.

In the next few months all our energies must be concentrated on food deliveries and the extension of our resources of food supplies. There must not be the slightest departure from this. At the same time let the scientists and technicians produce a long-term plan for the electrification of all Russia.[106] Let the links which we have established with the outside world, with capitalist Europe, that gateway which we made for ourselves by concluding peace with Estonia, serve to provide us immediately with essential technical aid. When, in the next few months, we have solved the basic problems of transport and foods supplies, when we have solved the problem of labour conscription, on which problems we shall wholly concentrate all our energies, not allowing ourselves to be deflected from this by anything else for a few months—when we have accomplished this we shall prove that we can go on with developmental tasks that will last many years and put the whole of Russia on to

an advanced technological footing, abolishing the division between town and country, and making it possible to conquer completely and decisively the backwardness of the countryside, its scattered economy and its ignorance, from which stem all the stagnation, all the backwardness, all the oppression that have existed up to now. And in this matter, that of the peaceful struggle on the bloodless front of the reorganisation of industry, we shall, if we employ all our military skill and all our energy, and concentrate all our forces on the fulfilment of this task, achieve success that will be even more decisive, even more glorious, than those we have won in the military field. (*Applause*.)

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DRAFT (OR THESES) OF THE R.C.P.'S REPLY TO THE LETTER OF THE INDEPENDENT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY[107]

Having at last received an *official* proposal from the Independents (German) to conduct negotiations we, as a party, must now answer them with complete frankness, without the diplomacy that is, to a certain extent, obligatory for the Communist International.

The answer must be such as will explain the issue to the masses of workers who sympathise with the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system—workers that not only in Germany, but also in France and Britain and a number of other countries, are being *deceived* (deliberately and unwittingly, i.e., by force of self-deception) by leaders who in words alone subscribe to the slogans that are popular among the workers (dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power) but are actually conducting their work, propaganda, agitation, etc., in the old way, not in the spirit of these slogans but in a spirit that contradicts these slogans.

The following is a rough draft of the theses for this answer (from the R.C.P. to the German Independent Social-Democratic Party):

(the sequence of the points must also be changed)

1. The dictatorship of the proletariat implies the ability, readiness and determination to attract to our side (to the side of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat) the entire mass of working and exploited people by means of revolutionary measures, by expropriating the exploiters.

There is nothing of this in the day-to-day agitation of the German Independents (in *Freiheit*,[108] for instance). Nor do the Longuetists have anything of it.

2. In particular, such agitation is especially necessary for rural proletarians and semi-proletarians and also for small peasants (peasants who do not employ hired labour even at the height of the harvest, etc., peasants who sell little or no grain). These sections of the population must have explained to them daily, popularly, with extreme simplicity and concreteness that when the proletariat has seized state power, it will *give* them an immediate improvement in their conditions *by expropriating the landowners*. It will deliver them from the yoke of the big landowners, will hand over big estates to them in their entirety, will free them from debt, etc., etc. The same applies to the urban non-proletarian, or not fully proletarian, mass of working people.

The German Independents (like the Longuetists) do not carry on such agitation.

3. The Soviet system is the destruction of that bourgeois falsehood known as "freedom of the press"—i.e., freedom to bribe the press, freedom for the rich, the capitalists, to buy up newspapers, freedom for the capitalists to buy up hundreds of newspapers and in this way fabricate the so-called public opinion.

The German Independents (when speaking of them it is always to be understood that the Longuetists, the British Independents, etc., etc., are included) do not admit this truth, do not spread it, do not agitate daily for the abolition by revolutionary means of the enslavement by capital of the press which bourgeois democrats falsely call freedom of the press.

The Independents do not carry on any such agitation and recognise Soviet power by way of lip-service alone (*Lippenbekenntniss*); in actual fact they are fully weighed down by the prejudices of bourgeois democracy.

They cannot explain *the main thing*, the expropriation of the printing works and warehouses and the supplies of paper, because they do not understand it.

4. The same applies to freedom of assembly (which is a falsehood as long as the rich own the best buildings and buy up public buildings), to "arming of the *people*", to

freedom of conscience (=freedom for capital to buy or bribe whole church organisations for the purpose of doping the masses with the opium of religion), and to all other bourgeois-democratic liberties.

5. The dictatorship of the proletariat means the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by a *single* class, the proletariat, and by its revolutionary vanguard at that. To demand that this vanguard should *first* ensure the support of the *majority of the people* through elections to bourgeois parliaments, bourgeois constituent assemblies, etc., i.e., by elections held *while wage-slavery still exists*, while the exploiters exist and exercise their oppression, and while the means of production are privately owned—to demand this or to assume it is actually abandoning the standpoint of the dictatorship of the proletariat and going over to the standpoint of bourgeois democracy.

That is how the German Independents and the French Longuetists act. These parties' repetition of the petty-bourgeois democrats' phrases about the majority of the "people" (deceived by the bourgeoisie and crushed by capital) places them objectively on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

6. The dictatorship of the proletariat implies and signifies a clear concept of the truth that the proletariat, because of its objective economic position in every capitalist society, *correctly* expresses the interests of the *entire mass* of working and exploited people, all semi-proletarians (i.e., those who live partly by the sale of their labour-power), all small peasants and similar categories.

These sections do not follow the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties (including the "socialist" parties of the Second International) by the free expression of their will (as petty-bourgeois democrats assume) but because they are directly deceived by the bourgeoisie, because of pressure by capital and because of the self-deception of the petty-bourgeois leaders.

The proletariat will attract these sections of the population (semi-proletarians and small peasants) to its side, and can attract them to its side, only *after* it has achieved a victory, only after it has won state power, that is, after the proletariat has overthrown the bourgeoisie, and emancipated

all working people from the yoke of capital and *shown* them in practice the benefits (the benefits of freedom from the exploiters) accruing from proletarian state power.

This is the concept that constitutes the basis and essence of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the German Independents and French Longuetists do not understand it, do not spread it among the masses and do not propagandise it daily.

7. The dictatorship of the proletariat implies a recognition of the necessity to suppress the resistance of the exploiters by force, and the readiness, ability and determination to do it. The bourgeoisie, even the most republican and democratic bourgeoisie (for instance, in Germany, Switzerland and the U.S.A.), have regular recourse to pogroms, lynching, assassination, armed violence and terror against Communists and actually against all revolutionary steps taken by the proletariat; to reject force or terror under such circumstances is tantamount to turning into a snivelling petty bourgeois, to spreading reactionary petty-bourgeois illusions about social peace and, to put it concretely, is tantamount to fear of the belligerent army officer.

The most criminal and most reactionary imperialist war of 1914-18 trained many tens of thousands of reactionary officers and pushed them into the forefront of politics in all countries, even the most democratic republics; these officers prepare and effect acts of terror for the benefit of the bourgeoisie, for the benefit of capital against the proletariat.

The attitude to terror displayed by the German Independents and the French Longuetists in their parliamentary speeches, in newspaper articles and in all their propaganda and agitation is nothing less than the complete rejection of the real dictatorship of the proletariat, is an actual changeover to the position of the petty-bourgeois democrat and is *corrupting* the revolutionary consciousness of the workers.

8. The same is true of civil war. Following the imperialist war, when we are confronted with reactionary generals and officers who employ terror against the proletariat, when we are confronted with the fact that the present policy of all bourgeois states is the *preparation* of *fresh* imperialist

wars—wars are not only being deliberately prepared but are objectively inevitable as a result of all their politics—under these conditions, in such circumstances to bemoan a civil war against the exploiters, to condemn it and to fear it is tantamount to becoming a reactionary.

It means fearing the victory of the workers that may possibly cost tens of thousands of lives and allowing for certain another imperialist bloodbath that yesterday cost millions of lives and will tomorrow cost millions more.

It means giving real *encouragement* to the reactionary and rapacious tendencies, schemes and preparations of the bourgeois generals and officers.

Such is the reactionary nature of the sugary, petty-bourgeois, sentimental position of the German Independents and the French Longuetists in the question of the civil war. They close their eyes to the intrigues of the White Guard and to its training and formation by the bourgeoisie and hypocritically, pharisaically (or cowardly) turn their backs on work to create a Red Guard, a proletarian Red Army that is capable of crushing the resistance of the exploiters.

9. The dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power imply a clear notion of the need to *break*, to smash to smithereens the bourgeois (even if it is republican-democratic) state machinery, the courts, the bureaucracy, both civil and military, etc.

The German Independents and the French Longuetists do not display any consciousness of this truth, nor do they carry on day-to-day agitation on behalf of it. Worse even—they conduct *all* their agitation in the *contrary* spirit.

10. Every revolution (as distinguished from a reform) by its very nature implies a crisis, and a very deep crisis at that, both political and economic. This is irrespective of the crisis brought about by the war.

It is the task of the revolutionary party of the proletariat to explain to the workers and peasants that they must have the courage to meet this crisis boldly and find in revolutionary measures *a source of strength* with which to overcome the crisis. Only by surmounting the greatest crises with revolutionary enthusiasm, with revolutionary energy, with revolutionary preparedness to make the greatest sacrifices, can the proletariat defeat the exploiters and

liberate mankind entirely from wars, the oppression of capital and wage-slavery.

There is no other way, because the reformist attitude to capitalism yesterday engendered the imperialist bloodbath (and will certainly-do the same tomorrow) involving millions of people and endless crises.

This is the main idea without which the dictatorship of the proletariat is an empty phrase; the Independents and the Longuetists do not understand it and do not include it in their agitation and propaganda, do not explain it to the masses.

11. The Independents and the Longuetists do not develop and do not make more profound the consciousness of the masses that the reformism that factually dominated in the Second International (1889-1914) and destroyed it was decadent and ruinous; on the contrary they dull that consciousness, they hide the disease and do not reveal it, do not expose it.

12. On leaving the Second International and condemning it verbally (in Crispien's pamphlet, for instance) the Independents actually held out a hand to Friedrich Adler, a member of the Austrian party of the Noskes and Scheidemanns.

The Independents tolerate among their number writers who completely reject the basic concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This divergence of word and deed is typical of the entire policy of the *leaders* of the Independent Party in Germany and of the Longuetists in France. It is precisely the leaders who share the prejudices of the petty-bourgeois democrats and of the upper stratum of the proletariat that has been corrupted by reformism, contrary to the revolutionary sympathies of the *masses* of workers who gravitate towards the Soviet system.

13. The Independents and the Longuetists do not understand and do not explain to the masses that the imperialist superprofits of the advanced countries enabled them (and still enable them) to *bribe* the top stratum of the proletariat, to throw them some crumbs from the superprofits (obtained from the colonies and from the financial exploitation of weak countries), to create a privileged section of skilled workers, etc.

Without the exposure of this evil, without a struggle against both the trade union bureaucracy and all manifestations of petty-bourgeois guildism, against the working-class aristocracy, the privileges of the upper stratum of workers, without the ruthless removal from the revolutionary party of those imbued with this spirit, without an appeal to the *lower strata*, to ever wider sections of the *masses*, to the real *majority* of the exploited—without all this there can be no question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

14. This unwillingness or inability to break with the top stratum of workers who are infected with imperialism, is also found among the Independents and the Longuetists in their not conducting agitation for the direct, unqualified support for *all* insurrections and revolutionary movements of *colonial* peoples.

Under such circumstances the condemnation of colonial policy and of imperialism is either sheer hypocrisy or the empty sighing of a stupid philistine.

15. The Independents and Longuetists do not carry on agitation among the troops (that they join the forces *for the purpose* of preparing their going over to the side of the workers *against* the bourgeoisie). They do not create organisations for this work.

They do not respond to the violence of the bourgeoisie, to *their* endless contraventions of "legality" (both during the imperialist war and *after* it) using for this the regular propaganda of *illegal organisations* and *creating* such organisations.

Unless there is a combination of legal and illegal work, of legal and illegal organisations, there can be no question of a truly revolutionary party of the proletariat in Germany, in Switzerland, in Britain, in France or in the U.S.A.

16. By and large, all propaganda and agitation, all organisational work of the Independents and the Longuetists is more petty-bourgeois-democratic than revolutionary-proletarian—it is pacifist and not social-revolutionary.

In view of this the "recognition" of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Soviet power remains purely verbal.

Summary. In the prevailing situation the R.C.P. deems the only correct solution to be not to unite with the Independents and the Longuetists in one International, but to *bide our time* until the revolutionary masses of the French and German workers *correct* the weakness, errors, prejudices and inconsistencies of such parties as the Independents and the Longuetists.

In the opinion of the R.C.P. there is no place for such parties in the Communist International.

The R.C.P., however, does not reject *conferences* with all parties that desire to confer with it and know its opinion.

Published in March 1920

Published according to the manuscript

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE RAILWAYMEN OF MOSCOW JUNCTION[109] FEBRUARY 5, 1920

BRIEF NEWSPAPER REPORT

V. I. Lenin, greeted with stormy applause, delivered a long speech.

"The most outstanding fact in the world situation," said Comrade Lenin, "is the peace with Estonia. This peace is a window into Europe. It opens up before us the possibility of beginning an exchange of goods with the West. Our enemies maintained that the revolution in the West is far away and that we would not be able to hold out without it. We have not only held out, however, we have won a victory.

"We won without obtaining a single cartridge from anywhere, we won only because the workers and Red Army soldiers know what they are fighting for.

"If the small nations that are playthings in the hands of the Entente begin to wish for peace with Soviet Russia, this is to be explained by our having shown in practice how the imperialists have deceived them and how gladly the Russian proletariat extends to them the hand of peace. Poland will follow Estonia. Information has been received that Soviet Russia's peace proposals will be discussed in Poland. This bloodless victory is of tremendous importance."

Lenin went over to the internal situation and showed that it boiled down to a struggle against chaos on the railways. Railway transport was hanging by a hair. If the trains stopped running that would mean the end of the proletarian centres. Heroic efforts on the part of the masses of

workers would be needed to maintain transport and facilitate the struggle against hunger and cold. Unparalleled heroism proved possible during the Civil War which claimed so many victims, and that heroism and those sacrifices that decided the war in our favour were still essential now that the war had shifted to another front, the industrial front. Victory was now essential on this bloodless front.

"It must be understood that sacrifices are also needed here," continued the speaker. "Sacrifices must be made to restore the country's economy. 'Victory or Death' must become the slogan on the industrial front. It is necessary for workers to be conscious of the need for the tensest struggle for victory on this front. There is a hard struggle ahead and it will have to be carried on by tired and hungry workers; if, however, they realise that the fate of the working class depends on the outcome of this struggle, they will win out."

The question of transport was being discussed by the Council of Defence, but the workers themselves would have to muster for the struggle against the transport chaos and the profiteering that intensified the chaos. Those who did not give their grain surpluses to the state were turning the railways into an instrument for profiteering, they were enemies, and politically-conscious workers should muster for the struggle against them.

"We led the Red Army to victory by strict, iron discipline as well as agitation. What has been organised in the Red Army must also be created on all the fronts of labour. The entire experience of the creation of the Red Army must be transferred to the army of railway workers so that it can rise to the same heights as the Red Army. Without sacrifice, without iron discipline, without the employment of specialists the Red Army would not have been victorious, and without them the railway army will not be victorious." (*Applause.*)

Petrogradskaya Pravda No. 28,
February 7, 1920

Published according to
the *Petrogradskaya Pravda* text

À LA GUERRE COMME À LA GUERRE!

The landowners and capitalists, who have been overthrown by the workers and peasants of Russia, have forced two years of civil war upon us with the help of the capitalists of the whole world.

We are ending this war victoriously.

We have already gained the first peace, which has demonstrated the superiority of our foreign policy over the policy of the united capitalists of all countries. These capitalists did their utmost to prevent peace between Estonia and us. We have beaten them. We have concluded peace with Estonia—the first peace; it will be followed by others, opening up for us the possibility of trading with Europe and America.

The bloody war which the exploiters forced upon us we are ending victoriously. During these two years we have learned how to win; and we have won.

Now comes the turn of a bloodless war.

Let us work for victory on the front of the bloodless war against hunger and cold, against typhus and destruction, against ignorance and economic chaos!

This bloodless war has been forced upon us by the destruction caused by four years of imperialist war and two years of civil war. In order to defeat the poverty and want, the hunger and hardships caused by these wars, we must keep firmly in mind, must thoroughly grasp and everywhere and at all costs observe the maxim, *à la guerre comme à la guerre!*

The workers and peasants were able to create a Red Army without the landowners and capitalists and against them, and were able to defeat the exploiters.

The workers and peasants will be able to create Red armies of peaceful labour—they will be able to win new happiness for themselves by restoring agriculture and industry.

The first and chief step towards this is the *restoration of the transport system* which must be done at all costs, immediately, with revolutionary energy, and must be carried out with military determination, solidarity, speed and selfless devotion.

Let's get on with the job, comrades!

Let us show that in the sphere of peaceful labour we can display even greater marvels of heroism and victory than in the arena of war against the exploiters!

February 7, 1920

Pravda No. 28,
February 8, 1920
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to
the *Pravda* text

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A NON-PARTY CONFERENCE IN BLAGUSHA-LEFORTOVO DISTRICT FEBRUARY 9, 1920

NEWSPAPER REPORT

In his speech Lenin dealt with two burning questions of present-day Soviet life—the international situation and the labour front.

"By its victories," Lenin said, "our Red Army has consolidated the position of Soviet Russia and has secured for us the first victory over the Entente imperialists. How is this victory to be explained? It is clear that it was not achieved by the victories at the front alone, but by our having won over the soldiers of the countries warring against us. The Allies corrupted their own armies by landing troops in our country and were soon forced to withdraw them. The soldiers refused to fight us. The very expression 'Soviet government,' that is, a government of the working people, brings joy to the hearts of the proletarians all over the world.

"By means of agitation and propaganda, we deprived the Entente of its own troops. We defeated the imperialists not only with the aid of our soldiers, but also by relying on the sympathy the Entente soldiers felt for us. On the other hand, we gave a practical demonstration to the small neighbouring states that our policy is a peaceful one. Britain, through its mouthpiece, Churchill, threatened to send fourteen states against us; but this campaign collapsed when concurrently with our victories, we kept making proposals for peace. We proposed peace to Estonia without insisting on any particular frontiers, knowing only that we did not want

to shed the blood of workers and peasants for the sake of any frontiers.

"The removal of the blockade is exclusively to be attributed to the sympathy which Soviet power inspires among the workers of the hostile countries. In Italy, matters have gone so far that a congress of socialist parties has unanimously adopted a resolution demanding the raising of the blockade of Soviet Russia and the resumption of trade relations. Although they do not love the Bolsheviks, the bourgeois governments of the small countries have become convinced that the Bolsheviks want to live on good-neighbourly terms with them, whereas those on whose side General Denikin or any other general is, would tear up all the scraps of paper promising independence to the small nations immediately after gaining victory. Without a single gun, without a single machine-gun, without firing a single shot, we have concluded peace; we have laid the foundation for the conclusion of peace with all the countries that are waging war on us. We have shown that all governments have to lay down their arms in face of the peace policy of the Soviet government.

"We have already cut a window opening on to Europe, and we shall try to make wide use of it. Attempts are being made to incite Poland against us. But these attempts will fail, and the time is not far off when we shall conclude peace with all of them, although they say that they will not recognise us. They are mortally afraid of the spread of the Bolshevik infection at home; but although they have surrounded themselves with a Chinese Wall the Bolshevik infection already exists in each of these countries, it lurks in their midst. This infection was brought by the French and British soldiers who had been to Soviet Russia and had breathed her air. We have thus gained two victories. We have smashed the whiteguard hordes on all fronts, and we are winning peace on a world scale, winning it not with guns, but by the sympathy we have been able to inspire not only in the workers but even in the bourgeois governments of the small nationalities."

Lenin then went on to deal briefly with the labour front.

"Comrades," he said, "spring is approaching; we have been through an extraordinarily difficult winter of cold, hunger, typhus and railway chaos. We must be victorious on this

front too. Just as we were able to sacrifice everything during the war and to give our best forces—the advanced workers, Communists and political and military students died in the front ranks and thus raised the morale of the whole army—so now we say that we must win on the front of economic chaos, the Communists and the advanced workers, the most honest and conscientious, the finest and staunchest, must be in the forefront, as they were then; every train, every locomotive must be won by struggle, must be fought for. That is my appeal to the non-party conference.

"Comrades, before concluding my speech I would like to say a few words about the measures decided on at the last session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. The session decided on a number of measures which will shortly be published in the newspapers, and which should be read and discussed at all meetings of workers, in clubs, factories and Red Army units. One of the most important decisions of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, one to which in my opinion the most profound attention should be directed, concerns the fight against red tape in our institutions. One of the measures is the decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee to transform our state control into a workers' and peasants' control, or a workers' inspection.[110] We shall not drive out the old officials—just as we did not drive the experts out of the army, but attached worker commissars to them—we must attach groups of workers to these bourgeois experts, to look on, to learn and to take this work into their own hands. Workers must enter all the government establishments so as to supervise the entire government apparatus. And this should be done by the non-party workers, who should elect their representatives at non-party conferences of workers and peasants. They must come to the assistance of the Communists who are being overtaxed by the tremendous burden they have to bear. We must pour as many workers and peasants as possible into this apparatus. We shall tackle this job and accomplish it, and thus drive red tape out of our institutions. The broad non-party masses must keep a check on all government affairs, and must themselves learn to govern."

Pravda No. 32,
February 13, 1920

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A PUBLICIST'S NOTES

I

Citizen Jean Longuet has sent me a letter consisting mainly of the same complaints as those contained in his article, "How Are the Russians Deceived?" (*Populaire*,[111] January 10, 1920.) Longuet has also sent me this issue of his newspaper together with a leaflet of the Committee for the Reconstruction of the International (Comité pour la reconstruction de l'Internationale)[112]. The leaflet contains two draft resolutions for the forthcoming congress of the French Socialist Party[113] in Strasbourg. It is signed on behalf of the Committee for the Reconstruction of the International by 24 persons: Amédée Dunois, Citizeness Fanny Clar, Caussy, Maurice Delépine, Paul Faure, Ludovic-Oscar Frossard, Eugène Frot, Henri Gourdeaux, Citizeness Leyciagnre, André Le Troquer, Paul Louis, Jean Longuet, Maurice Maurin, Barthélemy Mayéras, Joan Mouret, Georges Mauranges, Palicot, Pécher, Citizeness Marianne Rauze, Daniel Renault, Servantier, Sixte Quenin, Tommasi, Raoul Verfeuil.

It seems to me superfluous to reply to Jean Longuet's complaints and attacks: adequate replies have been given in F. Loriot's article in *Vie Ouvrière*[114] of January 16, 1920, entitled "Gently, Longuet!" ("Tout doux, Longuet!"), and in Trotsky's article in the *Communist International*[115] No. 7-8, entitled "Jean Longuet". Very little remains to be added; perhaps only that it would be a good thing to collect material for a history of the failure of the strike of July 21, 1919.[116] But I cannot do this from Moscow. All I have seen is a quotation from *Avanti!*[117] published in an Austrian

Communist paper, exposing the despicable role played in this affair by one of the most despicable of the social-traitors (or anarcho-traitors?), the former syndicalist and anti-parliamentary windbag, Jouhaux. Why should not Longuet give somebody the job, which can be easily done in Paris, of collecting all the documents, all the comments and articles in the European Communist papers, and all the special interviews with the leaders and participants concerned, on the failure of the strike of July 21, 1919? We would be delighted to publish such a work. The "socialist education" about which the "Centrists" of the whole world (the Independents in Germany, the Longuetists in France, the I.L.P.[118] in Britain, etc.) talk so often and so readily must be understood to mean the firm *exposure of the mistakes* of the leaders and the mistakes of the movement and not the pedantic and doctrinaire repetition of general socialist phrases, which everybody is tired of hearing and which, since 1914-18, nobody trusts.

An example of this—all the leaders and all the prominent members of the socialist parties, the trade unions and the workers' co-operative societies who advocated the "defence of the fatherland" in the war of 1914-18, acted as traitors to socialism. The real work of "socialist education" implies the persistent exposure of their mistake, the systematic explanation that this war was, in respect of *both* sides, a war between bandits for the division of the spoils, and that a repetition of such a war is *inevitable* unless the proletariat overthrows the bourgeoisie by revolutionary means.

The resolutions I have referred to speak about such work of education, but what is actually being done is a work of socialist corruption, for treason, treachery, routine, inertia, careerism, philistinism and mistakes are hushed up, whereas real education consists in overcoming and removing them.

II

Neither of the resolutions of the Longuetists is of any use—although, incidentally, they are very useful in one particular sphere, that of showing what, at the present moment, is perhaps the most dangerous evil for the working-class

movement in the West. The evil is this: the old leaders, observing what an irresistible attraction Bolshevism and Soviet government have for the masses, are seeking (*and often finding!*) a way of escape in the *verbal* recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet government, although they actually either remain enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or are unable or unwilling to understand its significance and to carry it into effect.

The fall of the first Soviet Republic in Hungary (the first, which fell, will be followed by a second, which will be victorious) shows clearly how vast, how immense is the danger of this evil. A number of articles in the Vienna *Rote Fahne*,[119] the Central Organ of the Austrian Communist Party, have revealed one of the chief reasons for its fall, namely, the treachery of the "socialists", who went over to Béla Kun[120] verbally and proclaimed themselves Communists, but who actually did not pursue a policy consonant with the dictatorship of the proletariat; they vacillated, played the coward, made advances to the bourgeoisie, and in part directly sabotaged and betrayed the proletarian revolution. Naturally, the powerful brigands of imperialism (i.e., the bourgeois governments of Britain, France, etc.) that surrounded the Hungarian Soviet Republic made good use of these vacillations *within* the Hungarian Soviet government and used the Rumanian butchers to crush it.

There can be no doubt that some of the Hungarian socialists went over to Béla Kun *sincerely*, and *sincerely* proclaimed themselves Communists. But that changes nothing essential: a man who "sincerely" proclaims himself a Communist, but who in practice vacillates and plays the coward instead of pursuing a ruthlessly firm, unswervingly determined and supremely courageous and heroic policy (and only such a policy is consonant with recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat)—such a man, in his weakness of character, vacillations and irresolution, is just as much guilty of treachery as a direct traitor. As far as the individual is concerned, there is a very great difference between a man whose weakness of character makes him a traitor and one who is a deliberate, calculating traitor; but in politics there is no such difference, because politics involves the actual fate of millions of people, and it makes no difference whether

the millions of workers and poor peasants are betrayed by those who are traitors from weakness of character or by those whose treachery pursues selfish aims.

We cannot yet say which of the Longuetists who signed the resolutions we are discussing will prove to belong to the first category, which to the second and which to some third, and it would be idle to speculate on it. The important thing is that these Longuetists, *as a political trend*, are now pursuing exactly the same policy as the Hungarian "socialists" and "Social-Democrats" who brought about the fall of the Soviet government in Hungary. It is precisely this policy that the Longuetists are pursuing, for verbally they proclaim themselves supporters of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet government, but actually they continue to behave in the old way and to defend in their resolutions and to carry out in practice the old policy of petty concessions to social-chauvinism, opportunism and bourgeois democracy, the policy of vacillation, irresolution, evasiveness, subterfuge, suppression of facts, and the like. In their totality, these petty concessions, this vacillation, irresolution, evasiveness, subterfuge and suppression of facts inevitably constitute a *betrayal* of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Dictatorship is a big, harsh and bloody word, one which expresses a relentless life-and-death struggle between two classes, two worlds, two historical epochs.

Such words must not be uttered frivolously.

To place the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the order of the day, and at the same time to "fear to offend" men like Albert Thomas, the Brackes Sembats and the other champions of the vilest French social-chauvinism, the heroes of the traitor newspapers *l'Humanité*, *La Bataille*[121] and the like, is to betray the working class—be it from lack of thought, lack of understanding, weakness of character, or some other cause, it is nevertheless betrayal of the working class.

It was the divergence between word and deed that caused the collapse of the Second International. The Third International is not yet a year old, but it is already becoming fashionable and is a lure to those politicians who go wherever the masses go. The Third International is already in

danger of its word and deed diverging. This danger must be exposed everywhere and at all costs, and every manifestation of this evil must be eradicated.

The resolutions of the Longuetists (like the resolutions of the recent congress of the German Independents, who are German Longuetists) have transformed "dictatorship of the proletariat" into just such an icon as the resolutions of the Second International used to be for the leaders, the officials of the trade unions, the parliamentarians and the functionaries of the co-operative societies. An icon is something you pray to, something you cross yourself before, something you bow down to; but an icon has no effect on practical life and practical politics.

No, gentlemen, we shall not allow the slogan "dictatorship of the proletariat" to be turned into an icon; we shall not consent to the Third International tolerating any divergence between word and deed.

If you stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat, then do not pursue that evasive, equivocal, compromising policy towards social-chauvinism which you are pursuing and which is expressed in the very first lines of your first resolution: the war, you see, "has rent" (*a déchirée*) the Second International, has severed it from the work of "socialist education" (*éducation socialiste*), while "certain sections of this International" (*certaines de ses fractions*) have "weakened themselves" by sharing power with the bourgeoisie, and so on and so forth.

That is not the language of people who consciously and sincerely support the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the language either of people who take one step forward and two steps back, or of politicians. If you want to talk this language—or rather, as long as you talk this language, as long as this is your policy—stay in the Second International, where you belong. Or let the workers, whose mass pressure is pushing you towards the Third International, leave you behind in the Second International and themselves come over, *without you*, to the. Third International. On the same terms we shall say "Welcome" to these workers, whether of the French Socialist Party, the German Independent Social-Democratic Party, or the British Independent Labour Party.

If you recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat, and at the same time talk about the war of 1914-18, then you must talk differently and say that this war was a war between the brigands of Anglo-Franco-Russian imperialism and the brigands of Austro-German imperialism for the division of spoils, of colonies and "spheres" of financial influence. Preaching "defence of the fatherland" in such a war was treason to socialism. If this truth is not thoroughly explained, if this treason is not eradicated from the minds, hearts and policy of the workers, it will be *impossible* to escape the miseries of capitalism, it will be *impossible* to escape new wars, which are *inevitable* as long as capitalism persists.

You do not want to talk this language, you cannot talk this language or carry on *this* propaganda, do you? You want to "spare" yourselves or your friends who yesterday preached the "defence of the fatherland" in Germany under Wilhelm or Noske and in Britain and France under the rule of the bourgeoisie, don't you? Then *spare* the Third International! Gladden it with your absence!

III

I have so far spoken of the first of the two resolutions. The second is no better: "solemn" ("*solennelle*") condemnation of "confusionism", and even of "all compromise" ("*toute compromission*"—this is an empty revolutionary phrase, because one cannot be opposed to *all* compromise), and, alongside of this, evasive, equivocal repetition of general phrases—phrases which do not explain the concept "dictatorship of the proletariat" but obscure it—attacks upon the "policy of M. Clemenceau" (the usual trick of bourgeois politicians in France, who represent a change of cliques to be a change of regime), and the exposition of a programme which is fundamentally *reformist*—taxes, "nationalisation of the capitalist monopolies", etc.

The Longuetists do not understand and *do not want* to understand (partly, are *incapable* of understanding) that reformism, masked by revolutionary phrase-mongering, was the chief evil of the Second International, the chief reason for its disgraceful collapse, for the support given by the

"socialists" to the war in which ten million people were slaughtered in order to settle the great question whether the Anglo-Russo-French group or the German group of capitalist depredators should plunder the world.

The Longuetists have in fact remained the reformists they were, masking their reformism by revolutionary phrases and employing the new tag "dictatorship of the proletariat" merely as a revolutionary phrase. The proletariat does not need such leaders, nor does it need the leaders of the German Independent Social-Democratic Party, or the leaders of the British Independent Labour Party. The proletariat cannot bring about its dictatorship with such leaders.

Recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean undertaking an assault, an uprising, at all costs and at *any* moment. That is nonsense. A successful insurrection demands prolonged, skilful and persistent preparations, preparations entailing great sacrifice.

Recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat means making a determined, relentless, and, what is most important, a fully conscious and consistent break with the opportunism, reformism, equivocation and evasiveness of the Second International—a break with the leaders who *cannot help* carrying on the old tradition, with the old (not in age, but in methods) parliamentarians, trade union and co-operative society officials, etc.

A break with them is essential. To pity them would be criminal; it would mean betraying the fundamental interests of tens of millions of workers and small peasants for the paltry interests of some ten thousand or hundred thousand people.

Recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat requires the fundamental reconstruction of the day-to-day work of the Party, it means getting among the millions of workers, *agricultural labourers* and small peasants whom only *Soviets*, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, can save from the miseries of capitalism and war. The dictatorship of the proletariat means explaining this concretely, simply, clearly, to the masses, to tens of millions of people; it means telling them that *their* Soviets must take over state power *in its entirety*, and that their vanguard, the party of the revolutionary proletariat, must *lead* the struggle.

The Longuetists have not the faintest inkling of this truth, nor have they the least desire or ability to give daily effect to it.

IV

In Austria, communism has passed through an extremely difficult period, which it seems is not quite over yet—growing pains, the illusion that by proclaiming themselves Communists a group can become a force without waging a profound struggle for influence over the masses, and mistakes in the cboice of people (mistakes that are *inevitable* at first in every revolution; we made a *number* of similar mistakes).

Die Rote Fahne, the daily organ of the Communists edited by Koritschoner and Tomann, shows that the movement is taking the right road.

And to what depths of stupidity, vileness and sordidness the Austrian Social-Democrats are sinking is only too clearly shown by the whole policy of Renner and similar Austrian Scheidemanns, who are helped—partly out of utter stupidity and weakness of character—by the Otto Bauers and Friedrich Adlers, who have become rank traitors.

Take, for example, Otto Bauer's pamphlet, *The Path to Socialism*.* I have before me a Berlin edition by *Freiheit*—apparently the publishing house of the Independent Party, which is entirely on the same wretched, vulgar and despicable level as this pamphlet.

A glance at a couple of passages from §9 ("Expropriation of the Expropriators") will be enough:

> "Expropriation cannot and must not take the form of the brutal [*brutaler*] confiscation of the property of the capitalists and landowners; for in this form it could be accomplished only at the cost of a tremendous destruction of the productive forces, which would ruin the masses of the people themselves and would choke the sources of national income. On the contrary, the expropriation of the expropriators must take place in a systematic and regular way" ... by means of taxation.

And this learned man goes on to illustrate how "four-ninths" of the income of the wealthy classes could be extracted by means of taxation....

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* *Der Weg zum Sozialismus.—Ed.*

Enough, is it not? As for myself, after these words (and I began reading the pamphlet from §9) I read nothing more; and I do not intend to read any more of Mr. Otto Bauer's pamphlet unless there is special need to. For it is clear that this, the best of the social-traitors, is at most a learned and utterly hopeless fool.

He is a typical pedant, a thorough petty bourgeois at heart. Before the war he wrote useful and learned books and articles in which he "theoretically" admitted that the class struggle might attain the acuteness of a civil war. He even had a hand (if I am correctly informed) in drawing up the Basle Manifesto of 1912, which directly foretold a *proletarian revolution* in connection with that very war which actually broke out in 1914.

But when this proletarian revolution became a reality, the soul of the pedant and philistine got the upper hand, and he grew frightened and *began to pour* the oil of *reformist phrase-mongering on the troubled waters of the revolution*.

He had got it firmly fixed in his mind (pedants cannot think, they can only commit to memory, learn by rote) that the expropriation of the expropriators without confiscation is theoretically possible. He was always repeating this. He had learned it by rote. He knew it by heart in 1912. He repeated it from memory in 1919.

He cannot think. After an imperialist war, a war which has brought even the victors to the verge of ruin, after civil war has broken out in a number of countries, after facts have proved on a world-wide scale the inevitability of the conversion of imperialist war into civil war, to preach, in the year of our Lord 1919, in the city of Vienna, the "systematic" and "regular" extraction from the capitalists of "four-ninths" of their income—to do this one must be either an imbecile or that old hero of grand old German poetry who flitted rapturously "from book to book"....

This dear old gentleman, no doubt a most virtuous paterfamilias, a most honest citizen and most conscientious reader and writer of learned works, has forgotten one tiny detail; he has forgotten that such a "systematic" and "regular" transition to socialism (the transition which undoubtedly would be the most advantageous to "the people", abstractly

speaking) presumes an absolutely secure victory of the proletariat, the absolute hopelessness of the position of the capitalists, the absolute necessity for them to display the most scrupulous obedience and their readiness to do so.

Is such a conjunction of circumstances possible?

Speaking theoretically, which in this case means speaking quite abstractly, it is possible, of course. For example, let us assume that in nine countries, including all the Great Powers, the Wilsons, Lloyd Georges, Millerands, and other champions of capitalism are already in the same position as Yudenich, Kolchak, Denikin, and their Ministers in our country. Let us assume that after this, in a tenth country, a small country, the capitalists propose to the workers: "Look here, we will conscientiously help you, in obedience to your decisions, to carry out a 'systematic' and peaceful (without destruction!) 'expropriation of the expropriators', for which you will let us have five-ninths of our former income in the first year and four-ninths in the second year."

It is quite conceivable that under the circumstances I have mentioned the capitalists in the tenth country, one of the smallest and most "peaceful" countries, might make such a proposal, and there would be absolutely nothing wrong in the workers of this country discussing this proposal in a business-like way and (after bargaining a bit, for a merchant cannot help asking more than his wares are worth) accepting it.

Now, after this popular explanation, perhaps the thing will be clear even to the learned Otto Bauer and to the philosopher Friedrich Adler (who is as successful a philosopher as he is a politician).

No, not clear yet?

Just think, dear Otto Bauer and dear Friedrich Adler, does the position of world capitalism and of its leaders at the present moment resemble that of Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin in Russia?

No, it does not. In Russia the capitalists have been smashed, after having put up a most desperate resistance. In the rest of the world they are still in power. They are the masters.

If, dear Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler, it is not clear to you yet, let me add something in an even more popular form.

Just imagine that at the time when Yudenich stood at the gates of Petrograd, when Kolchak held the Urals and Denikin the whole of the Ukraine, and when the pockets of these three heroes were stuffed with telegrams from Wilson, Lloyd George, Millerand and Co. informing them of the dispatch of money, guns, officers and soldiers—just imagine that at this moment a representative of the Russian workers were to come to Yudenich, Kolchak or Denikin, and say: "We, the workers, are in the majority. We will let you have five-ninths of your income, and later will take away the rest as well, 'systematically' and peacefully. Let's shake hands on it! 'Without destruction!' Is it a go?"

If this representative of the workers were simply clad, and if the Russian general, Denikin, for example, were alone when he received him, he would very likely commit the worker to a lunatic asylum, or just drive him away.

But if the representative of the workers were an intellectual wearing a decent suit of clothes, and, in addition, were the son of a respectable papa (like our good friend Friedrich Adler), and if, moreover, Denikin were not alone, but received him in the presence of a French or British "adviser"—this adviser would undoubtedly say to Denikin:

"Look here, general, this representative of the workers is a sensible fellow. He is just the man for one of our ministerial jobs, like Henderson in Britain, Albert Thomas in France, and Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler in Austria."

February 14, 1920

Published in 1920

Published according to the manuscript

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Stalin,

Revolutionary Military Council of the South-Western Front, Kharkov

Priority. By direct line

February 16, 1920

Today I heard you and all the others very clearly, every word. Threaten to shoot the incompetent person in charge of communications who cannot give you a good amplifier and ensure uninterrupted telephone communication with me. I approve the reduced requisitioning and the obligatory distribution among the poor of a part of the requisitioned grain. You must first of all interest the poor.

Lenin

First published in 1938

Published according to the manuscript

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Stalin,

Ukrainian Council of the Labour Army, Kharkov

Copy to the Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee

I am glad to learn that you have requisitioned a moderate amount—158 [million poods]—and are leaving ten per cent for the poor, and that you have already detailed three regiments and four squadrons for the Ukrainian Council of the Labour Army.

My advice: (1) protect the coal that is ready and send reinforcements quickly to the Caucasian Front. That is most important of all; (2) protect the salt and let regiments and squadrons occupy one volost after another in the vicinity of the Donets Basin and carry out requisitioning fully, awarding bread and salt to the poor; (3) immediately mobilise part of the Kharkov and Donets Basin workers for the Food Army to work together with the regiments and squadrons; (4) the work of the Ukrainian Council of the Labour Army to be measured by the daily amount of grain and coal delivered and the number of locomotives repaired.

Lenin

Written on February 18, 192
First published in 1942

Published according to the manuscript

IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS PUT BY KARL WIEGAND, BERLIN CORRESPONDENT OF UNIVERSAL SERVICE[122]

1. Do we intend to attack Poland and Rumania?

No. We have declared most emphatically and officially, in the name of the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, our peaceful intentions. It is very much to be regretted that the French capitalist government is instigating Poland (and presumably Rumania, too) to attack us. This is even mentioned by a number of American radios from Lyons.

2. What are our plans in Asia?

They are the same as in Europe: peaceful coexistence with all peoples; with the workers and peasants of all nations awakening to a new life—a life without exploiters, without landowners, without capitalists, without merchants. The imperialist war of 1914-18, the war of the capitalists of the Anglo-French (and Russian) group against the German-Austrian capitalist group for the partition of the world, has awakened Asia and has strengthened there, as everywhere else, the urge towards freedom, towards peaceful labour and against possible future wars.

3. What would be the basis of peace with America?

Let the American capitalists leave us alone. We shall not touch them. We are even ready to pay them in gold for any machinery, tools, etc., useful to our transport and industries We are ready to pay not only in gold, but in raw materials too.

4. What are the obstacles to such a peace?

None on our part; imperialism on the part of the American (and of any other) capitalists.

5. What are our views of the deportation of Russian revolutionaries from America?

We have accepted them. We are not afraid of revolutionaries here in this country. As a matter of fact, we are not afraid of anybody, and if America is afraid of a few more hundred or thousand of its citizens, we are ready to begin negotiations with a view of receiving any citizens whom America thinks dangerous (with the exception of criminals, of course).

6. What possibilities are there of an economic alliance between Russia and Germany?

Unfortunately, they are not great. The Scheidemanns are bad allies. We stand for an alliance with all countries without exception.

7. What are our views upon the allied demand for the extradition of war criminals?

If we are to speak seriously on this matter of war guilt, the guilty ones are the capitalists of all countries. Hand over to us all your landed proprietors owning more than a hundred hectares and capitalists having a capital of more than 100,000 francs, and we shall educate them to useful labour and make them break with the shameful, base and bloody role of exploiters and instigators of wars for the partition of colonies. Wars will then soon become absolutely impossible.

8. What would be the influence of peace with Russia upon the economic conditions in Europe?

Exchange of machinery for grain, flax and other raw materials—I ask, can this be disadvantageous for Europe? Clearly, it cannot be anything but beneficial.

9. What is our opinion regarding the future development of the Soviets as a world force?

The future belongs to the Soviet system all the world over. The facts have proved it. One has only to count by quarterly periods, say, the growth in the number of pamphlets, books, leaflets and newspapers standing for or sympathising with the Soviets published in any country. It cannot be otherwise. Once the workers in the cities, the workers, landless peasants and the handicraftsmen in the villages as well as the small peasants (i.e., those who do not exploit hired labour)—once this enormous majority of working people have understood that the Soviet system gives all power into their hands, releasing them from the yoke of landlords and capitalists—how could one prevent the victory of the Soviet system all over the world? I, for one, do not know of any means of preventing it.

10. Has Russia still to fear counter-revolution from without?

Unfortunately, it has, for the capitalists are stupid, greedy people. They have made a number of such stupid, greedy attempts at intervention and one has to fear repetitions until the workers and peasants of all countries thoroughly *re-educate* their own capitalists.

11. Is Russia ready to enter into business relations with America?

Of course she is ready to do so, and with all other countries. Peace with Estonia, to whom we have conceded a great deal, has proved our readiness, for the sake of business relations, to give even industrial concessions on certain conditions.

February 18, 1920

V. Ulyanov (*N. Lenin*)

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Published according to
the manuscript

IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS PUT BY A CORRESPONDENT OF THE *DAILY EXPRESS*[123]

1. What is our attitude towards the raising of the blockade?

We consider it a big step forward. The possibility is being opened for us to pass from a war that was forced on us by the capitalist governments of the Entente to peaceful reconstruction. This is of the greatest importance to us. Straining all our efforts towards the restoration of the economic life of the country, ruined first by the war between capitalists over the Dardanelles and the colonies, then by the war of the capitalists of the Entente and Russia against the workers of Russia, we are now, among other measures, working out, with the aid of a number of scientists and experts, a plan of electrification of the whole country. This plan is to be realised over a period of many years. The electrification will rejuvenate Russia. Electrification based on the Soviet system will mean the complete success of the foundations of communism in our country—foundations of a cultured life, without exploiters, without capitalists, without landlords, without merchants.

The raising of the blockade will help to accomplish Russia's electrification.

2. What influence will the Allies' decision to cease offensive action have on the offensive actions of the Soviet power?

The Allies, together with their allies and their lackeys—Kolchak, Denikin, and the capitalists of the surrounding

countries—have attacked us. We did not attack anyone. We concluded peace with Estonia even at the cost of material sacrifices.

We are impatiently waiting to see the Allies' "decision" supported by their *deeds*, but the story of the Versailles Peace and of its consequences, unfortunately, indicates that in most cases the Allies' words disagree with their deeds and the decisions remain scraps of paper.

3. Is the present *status quo* satisfactory from the standpoint of Soviet policy?

Yes, because every *status quo* in politics is a transition from old forms to new ones. The present *status quo* is, from many points of view, a transition from war to peace. Such a change is desirable to us for this reason, and insofar do we consider the *status quo* satisfactory.

4. What are our aims in connection with the cessation of hostilities on the part of the Allies?

Our aims, as already mentioned, are peaceful economic building. A detailed plan of it, on the basis of electrification, is being at present worked out by a committee of scientists and technicians—or rather, by a number of committees—in accordance with the resolution of the February (1920) session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.

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the manuscript

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

To Comrade Stalin,

Member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the South-Western Front

By direct line

Moscow, February 20

The situation on the Caucasian Front is assuming a more serious character. In the situation obtaining today we may possibly lose Rostov and Novocherkassk and the enemy may attempt to develop his successes further to the north and threaten the Donets area. Adopt exceptional measures to hasten the transfer of the 42nd and the Latvian divisions and strengthen their fighting potential. I expect that you will appreciate the general situation and bend all your efforts to achieve important results.

Lenin

First published on January 21, 1935 in *Pravda* No. 21

Published according to the telegram

TO THE WORKING WOMEN

Comrades, the elections to the Moscow Soviet show that the Communist Party is gaining ground among the working class.

Working women must take a bigger part in the elections. The Soviet government is the first and only government in the world to have completely abolished all the old, despicable bourgeois laws which placed women in a position of inferiority to men, which placed men in a privileged position, for example, in respect of marital rights and of children. The Soviet government, the government of the working people, is the first and only government in the world to have abolished all the privileges of men in property questions, privileges which the marriage laws of all bourgeois republics, even the most democratic, still preserve.

Wherever there are landowners, capitalists and merchants, women cannot be the equal of men even before the law.

Where there are no landowners, capitalists or merchants, and where the government of the working people is building a new life without these exploiters, men and women are equal before the law.

But that is not enough.

Equality before the law is not necessarily equality in fact.

We want the working woman to be the equal of the working man not only before the law but in actual fact. For this working women must take an increasing part in the administration of socialised enterprises and in the administration of the state.

By taking part in administration, women will learn quickly and will catch up with the men.

Elect more working women to the Soviet, both Communist women and non-party women. As long as they are honest working women capable of performing their work sensibly and conscientiously, even if they are not members of the Party—elect them to the Moscow Soviet!

Send more working women to the Moscow Soviet! Let the Moscow proletariat show that it is prepared to do everything, and is doing everything, to fight for victory, to fight the old inequality, the old bourgeois humiliation of women!

The proletariat cannot achieve complete liberty until it has won complete liberty for women.

N. Lenin

February 21, 1920

Pravda No. 40,
February 22, 1920

Published according to the *Pravda* text

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN

Stalin

Kharkov

February 22

It is essential immediately to arrange for interpreters at all headquarters and army institutions, and make it the duty of all to accept applications and other papers written in Ukrainian. This is absolutely essential—as far as language is concerned there must be every concession and the maximum of equality. I'll tell you soon about the wages of the railwaymen. I hear you quite well when you speak distinctly so please answer my two telegrams by telephone.

Lenin

First published in 1942

Published according to a typewritten copy

SPEECH AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF DIRECTORS OF ADULT EDUCATION DIVISIONS OF GUBERNIA EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS FEBRUARY 25, 1920

Permit me to greet your conference on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars and to share a few ideas with you.

As far as the international situation is concerned, I can tell you of a wireless message received today from Britain which better than anything else typifies it. The message says that yesterday, the twenty-fourth, the Allied Council decided that in the event of the states bordering on Russia asking its advice on policy it would say that it could not advise a war that would probably injure their interests, still less could it advise an aggressive war against Russia; if, however, the Russian Soviet Republic attacked their legitimate frontiers, the Allied Council would give them its support. The Allied gentlemen also want to send to Russia a commission that belongs to the Washington labour committee. The organisers of the conference, social-traitors headed by Albert Thomas, have agreed on certain social reforms and want to send this crowd, which constitutes part of the League of Nations,[124] to Russia to investigate how far conditions in Russia coincide with the normal requirements of "civilised" states.

The report of yesterday's decision by the Allies shows clearly enough that those gentlemen have got themselves into a mess, and also what benefit we can gain from that

mess. They have wasted hundreds of millions (the British Government has) on support for the war and have now announced that they can no longer support it. Their offensive spirit is played out, although they are still delivering war materiel to Poland; they are still delivering armaments and we have authentic information that Poland is regrouping her forces for an offensive so that we cannot place any great reliance on their announcement. A certain threat still remains, although the external danger from the Allies has diminished by ninety per cent; we shall have to retain our military preparedness after the end of the war against Denikin; we cannot count on full demobilisation.

Nine-tenths of the danger of an attack on Russia by international capitalism has, therefore, disappeared: they have suffered such a thorough collapse that are proposing for the umpteenth time to send a commission to Russia. If that commission is to consist of gentlemen like Albert Thomas, who visited Russia during the war, it will end in nothing but a scandal for them and will be an excellent basis for agitation for us. We'll give them such a welcome that they will leave Russia as quickly as possible and the only gain will be agitation for the workers of other countries. They want to scare us, but when we say we are welcoming them as honoured guests, they will hide this attempt of theirs. That shows the extent to which they are dismayed. We now have a window open on to Europe, thanks to the peace with Estonia, and are able to obtain the basic goods from there. There is, indeed, tremendous progress and improvement in our international situation; nine-tenths of all external danger to the Soviet Republic has been removed.

The more the danger is removed the more shall we be able to get on with our peaceful development, and we expect a lot from you and from your activities in the sphere of adult education. A number of material changes are necessary to put education in schools on a better footing—schools must be built, teachers selected and internal reforms carried out in organising and in selecting the staff. These are all things that require lengthy preparation. You are not hampered by this lengthy preparation in adult education. The demand of the people for an education outside

the regular school system and the need for workers in this field are increasing very greatly. We are sure that with the common aid and by our common efforts more will be done than has hitherto been the case.

In conclusion I shall speak about the nature of adult education, which is connected with propaganda and agitation. One of the fundamental faults of education in the capitalist world was its alienation from the basic task of organising labour, since the capitalist had to train and educate obedient and disciplined workers. There was no connection in capitalist society between the actual tasks of the organisation of social labour and teaching. There was dead, scholastic, routine teaching befouled by the influence of the clergy which everywhere, even in the most democratic republics, functioned in such a way that everything fresh and healthy was compelled to withdraw. Direct, vital work was made difficult because no extensive education was possible without a state apparatus and without material and financial aid. Since we can and must prepare to transfer our entire Soviet life from the path of military training and defence to that of peaceful development it is essential for you, workers in the field of adult education, to take this change into consideration, and your propaganda work, its aims and programme should be made to fit this change.

To show you how I understand the tasks and the entire character of education, of teaching, training and upbringing, in their connection with the changing tasks of the Soviet Republic, I would remind you of the resolution on electrification that was adopted at the last session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, you are probably all familiar with it. A few days ago there was an announcement in the papers that within two months (in the official printed report it said two weeks, but that was a mistake)—that within two months a plan for the electrification of the country would be elaborated to cover a minimum period of two to three years and a maximum period of ten years. The character of all our propaganda, which includes purely Party propaganda, and school teaching, and adult education, must change, not in the sense that the fundamentals and general direction of teaching should be changed, but

in the sense that the character of the work must be adapted to the transition to peaceful development with an extensive plan for the industrial and economic reconstruction of the country, because the general economic difficulty and the general task is the rehabilitation of the country's economic forces so that the proletarian revolution can create the new foundations of economic life side by side with petty peasant economy. Up to now the peasant has been compelled to loan grain to the workers' state; the pieces of coloured paper called money received in return for grain do not satisfy the peasant. The peasant, being dissatisfied, is demanding his legitimate rights—in exchange for grain he wants the industrial goods that we cannot give him until we have rehabilitated the economy. Rehabilitation—that is the basic task, but we cannot rehabilitate on the old economic and technical basis. This is technically impossible and would be absurd; we have to find a new basis. This new basis is our electrification plan.

We are talking to the peasants, to the mass of less-developed people, showing them that the new transition to a higher stage of culture and technical education is necessary for the success of all Soviet development. And so, it is essential to restore the economy. The most ignorant peasant will understand that the economy has been wrecked by the war and that he cannot overcome poverty and obtain the necessary goods in exchange for grain unless we restore it. All our work in the sphere of propaganda, school and adult education must be linked up closely with this most immediate and urgent need of the peasant in order not to be isolated from the most urgent requirements of our daily life; it should present them and their development in a way the peasant understands; it must be stressed that the way out of the situation is only through the rehabilitation of industry. Industry, however, cannot be rehabilitated on the old basis, it must be rehabilitated on the basis of modern technology, which means the electrification of industry and a higher culture. Electrification takes up to ten years' work, but it is work at a higher cultural and political level.

We shall evolve an extensive plan of work which must, in the minds of the peasantry, have a clearly defined practi-

cal aim. This cannot be done in a few months. The minimum programme should cover no less than three years. Without lapsing into utopias we may say that in ten years we shall be able to cover all Russia with a network of power stations and go over to an industry based on electricity that will meet the requirements of modern technology and put an end to the old peasant farming. This, however, requires a higher level of education and culture.

Without hiding from ourselves the fact that the immediate practical task is the restoration of transport and the delivery of food, and that with productivity at its present level we cannot undertake any extensive activites, you must nevertheless keep in mind and carry out, in the sphere of propaganda and education, the task of full rehabilitation on a basis commensurate with cultural and technical requirements. The old methods of propaganda are outmoded and until recently approached the peasants with general phrases about the class struggle; they served as grounds for the invention of all sorts of nonsense about proletarian culture,[125] etc., but we shall very rapidly cure ourselves of all this nonsense which seems very much like an infantile disorder. In propaganda and agitation, and in school and adult education, we shall present the question in a more sober and business-like manner, a manner worthy of the people of Soviet power who have learned something in the course of two years and who will go to the peasants with a practical, business-like and clear-cut plan for the reconstruction of all industry and will demonstrate that with education at its present level the peasant and the worker will not be able to carry out this task and will not escape from filth, poverty, typhus and disease. This practical task is clearly connected with cultural and educational improvements and must serve as the central point around which we must group all our Party propaganda and activities, all our school and extra-mural teaching. This will help to get a sound grasp of the most urgent interests of the peasant masses and will link up the general improvement in culture and knowledge with burning economic requirements to such an extent that we shall increase a hundredfold the demand of the working-class masses for education. We are

absolutely certain that if we have solved the difficult war problem in two years, we shall solve a still more difficult problem—the cultural and educational problem—in five to ten years.

These are the ideas I wished to express to you. (*Applause*.)

Brief report published
on March 2, 1920
in *Vecherniye Izvestia Moskovskogo Soveta Rabochikh i Krasnoarmeiskikh Deputatov* No. 481

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Published according to the verbatim report

SPEECH
DELIVERED AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF WORKING COSSACKS[126]
MARCH 1, 1920

Comrades, allow me first of all to greet the Congress on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars. I very much regret that I was unable to attend your meeting on the opening day and did not hear Comrade Kalinin's report. But from what he has told me I conclude that many things relating to the direct and immediate tasks of Soviet development, and especially to the Cossacks, were dealt with in his speech. I should, therefore, like to deal mostly with the international situation of the Soviet Republic and the tasks which confront all the working masses, including the Cossacks, because of this situation.

Never has the international position of the Soviet Republic been as favourable and as triumphant as it is now. If some thought is given to the way our international situation has evolved in the course of two years of untold difficulties and incredible sacrifices, if some thought is given to the reasons for it, any intelligent person will discern the main forces, the mainsprings, and the chief alignment of forces in the incipient world revolution.

When, over two years ago, at the very beginning of the Russian revolution, we spoke about this approaching international, world revolution, it was a prevision, and to a certain extent a prediction. And the vast majority of the working people who did not live in the large cities and who had not had a schooling in the Party greeted this talk of an

approaching world revolution with either mistrust or indifference, and at any rate with scanty understanding. And, indeed, it was impossible and would have been unnatural to expect the vast mass of the working population, especially the peasant, farming population, who are scattered over an immense territory, to form in advance anything like a correct idea of why world revolution was approaching, and whether it really was international. Our experience during these two incredibly difficult years and the experience of the working masses of remote border regions are worthy of attention, and not of merely being brushed aside with the remark that times were hard but have now become easier. Yes, we must give thought to the reason why things happened as they did, to the significance of their happening as they did, and to the lessons that are to be drawn from this; we must see which party's views have been borne out by what our own history and world history have demonstrated during these two years. That is what I would like to deal with first of all.

From the standpoint of the international situation the issue is quite clear, when the matter is taken on a broad scale and regarded not from the standpoint of one party or of one country, but from the standpoint of all countries together, when the matter is taken on a broad scale, then particular and trifling details recede into the background and the chief motive forces of world history become apparent.

When we began the October Revolution by overthrowing the power of the landowners and capitalists, appealing for the termination of the war, and addressing this appeal to our enemies; when after this we came under the yoke of the German imperialists; when after this, in October and November 1918, Germany was crushed, and Britain, France, America and the other Entente countries became the lords of the earth—what was our situation then? The vast majority asked whether it was not then obvious that the cause of the Bolsheviks was hopeless. And many added, "Not only is it hopeless, but the Bolsheviks have turned out to be frauds. They promised peace, but instead, after the German yoke had been thrown off and Germany defeated, they were found to be enemies of the whole Entente—that is, of Britain, France,

America and Japan, the most powerful countries in the world; and Russia, ruined, weakened and exhausted by the imperialist war, and moreover by the Civil War, has now to hold out in a fight against the foremost countries of the world." This was easy to believe; and it is not surprising that lack of faith made indifference and often actual hostility to the Soviet government more and more widespread. There is nothing surprising in it. What is surprising is that we emerged victorious from the struggle against Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin who were supported in every possible way by all the wealthiest powers in the world, powers which no other military force on earth can even approximately equal. The truth of this is clear to everybody, even to the blind, and even to those who are worse than blind, those who refuse to see at any price—even to them it is clear that we have emerged from this struggle victorious.

How did this miracle happen? It is to this question that I would like most of all to direct your attention, because it most clearly reveals the chief motive forces of the entire international revolution. By analysing this question in a practical way, we can supply an answer to it, for this is something we have already been through; we are able to say what happened after the event.

We were victorious because we could be and were united, and because we were able to win over allies from the camp of our enemies. And our enemies, who are immeasurably stronger than we are, suffered defeat because they were not, never could be and never will be united, and because every month they fought against us brought them further disintegration within their own camp.

I shall now speak about the fact which proves these statements.

You know that after Germany was defeated, there was nobody in the world to oppose Britain, France and America. They had robbed Germany of her colonies, and there was no corner on earth, there was not a single country, where the military might of the Entente did not prevail. It would seem that under such circumstances, enemies of Soviet Russia as they were, they must have clearly realised that Bolshevism aims at world revolution. We have never made a

secret of the fact that our revolution is only the beginning, that its victorious end will come only when we have lit up the whole world with these same fires of revolution. And we realised quite clearly that the capitalists were frenzied enemies of the Soviet government. It should be mentioned that when the European struggle was over they had an army of millions, and a powerful navy, to which we could not oppose even the semblance of a navy or an army of any strength. And all they had to do was to employ a few hundred thousand soldiers of this army of millions in the war against us in the same way as they were employed in the war against Germany, and the Entente would have crushed us. There cannot be the slightest doubt of this in the minds of those who have examined this question from the theoretical standpoint, and especially of those who went through the last war and know it from their own experience and observation.

Both Britain and France tried to seize Russia in this way. They concluded a treaty with Japan, who had taken practically no direct part in the imperialist war but who supplied a hundred thousand or so soldiers to crush the Soviet Republic, acting from the Far East. Britain at that time landed troops at Murmansk and Archangel, not to mention the movement in the Caucasus, while France landed soldiers and sailors in the South. This was the first historical phase of the struggle we sustained.

The Entente at that time had an army of millions and its soldiers were, of course, far superior to the whiteguard troops which were mustering in Russia and which had neither organisers nor arms. And it sent these soldiers against us. But what the Bolsheviks had predicted happened. They said that it was not only the Russian revolution that was concerned, but the world revolution as well, and that the Bolsheviks had allies in the workers of all civilised countries. These prophecies were not realised in their direct form at the time we proposed peace to all countries.[127] Our appeal did not meet with a general response. But the strike in Germany in January 1918[128] showed us that there we had the support of fairly large forces of workers and not only of Liebknecht, who even in the days of the Kaiser had the courage to declare publicly that the government and the

bourgeoisie of Germany were robbers. This strike ended in bloodshed and the suppression of the workers. In the Entente countries, of course, the bourgeoisie deceived the workers, either lying about our appeal or not publishing it at all. For this reason the appeal we made in November 1917 to all the nations produced no direct result, and those who thought that this appeal alone would call forth revolution were bound, of course, to be bitterly disappointed. But we did not count only upon the appeal; we counted upon more profound motive forces. We said that the revolution would proceed differently in different countries, and that of course it was not merely a matter of removing a protege of Rasputin or a villainous landowner, but of a struggle against the more developed and enlightened bourgeoisie.

And so, when the British landed troops in the North and the French in the South, the decisive test and the final denouement began. The question of who was right was now to receive its answer. Were the Bolsheviks right when they said that in order to win the fight they had to rely upon the workers? Or were the Mensheviks right when they said that an attempt to make a revolution in one country would be senseless and foolhardy, because it would be crushed by other countries? You heard this kind of talk not only from Party people but even from people who were just beginning to think about politics. And then came the acid test. For a long time we did not know what the result would be; for a long time we could not judge the result; but now, after the event, we know what it was. Even in the English newspapers, in spite of the frenzied lies about the Bolsheviks told by all the bourgeois papers—even in those papers letters began to appear from British soldiers near Archangel, saying that on Russian soil they had come across leaflets in English explaining to them that they had been deceived, that they were being led against workers and peasants who had set up their own state. These soldiers wrote that they did not want to fight. As for France, we know that there was a mutiny in the navy for which tens, hundreds, and perhaps thousands of Frenchmen are still doing penal servitude. These sailors declared that they would not fight the Soviet Republic. We can now see why neither French troops nor British troops are fighting us at present, why the British soldiers have been

removed from Archangel, and why the British Government dare not bring them on to our soil.

One of our political writers, Comrade Radek, wrote that the Russian soil would prove to be such that no soldier from any other country who set foot on it would be able to fight. This seemed to be too boastful a promise, it seemed a delusion. But it proved correct. The soil on which the Soviet revolution had taken place proved to be very dangerous to all countries. It seems that the Russian Bolsheviks were right; they had already managed to bring about unity among the workers during the time of the tsar, and the workers had managed to create small cells, which greeted all who believed them, whether French workers or British soldiers, with propaganda in their own languages. True, we had only tiny sheets, whereas in the British and French press propaganda was carried on by thousands of newspapers and every phrase was publicised in tens of thousands of columns. We issued only two or three quarto sheets a month; at best it worked out at only one copy for every ten thousand French soldiers.[129] I am not certain whether even that many reached their destination. Why, then, did the French and British soldiers believe them? Because we told the truth, and because when they came to Russia they saw that they had been deceived. They had been told that they were to defend their own country; but when they came to Russia they found that they were to defend the rule of the landowners and capitalists, that they were to crush the revolution. The reason we were able to win over these people in two years was that although they had forgotten that they had once executed their own kings, the moment they stepped on to Russian soil, the Russian revolution and the victories of the Russian workers and peasants reminded the soldiers of France and Britain of their own revolutions, and, thanks to the events in Russia, they recalled what had once happened in their own countries.

And this showed that the Bolsheviks were right, that our hopes were better founded than those of the capitalists, although we had neither funds nor arms, while the Entente had both arms and an invincible army. But we won the sympathy of these invincible armies, so much so that they dare not bring either British soldiers or French soldiers against us,

knowing from experience that every such attempt turns against them. That is one of the miracles that have occurred in Soviet Russia.

Now, after four years of war, when ten million people have been killed and twenty million crippled, when the imperialists are asking themselves what the war was for—such questions lead to some very interesting revelations. Certain negotiations which took place in 1916 were recently made public in France—the Austrian monarch began peace negotiations with France as early as 1916, but France kept quiet about it, and Albert Thomas, who called himself a socialist and who was then a member of the Cabinet, came to Russia to promise Constantinople, the Dardanelles and Galicia to Nicholas II. All these facts have now become widely known, they have been published in a French newspaper. The French workers are now saying to Albert Thomas: "You said that you had joined the Cabinet in order to protect our French fatherland and the interests of the French workers; yet in 1916, when the Austrian monarch proposed peace, you, Albert Thomas, concealed the fact, and as a result millions of people perished in order that the French capitalists might make more profit." These exposures are not ended yet. We began them by publishing the secret treaties, and the whole world saw why millions of people had perished, why millions of people had been sacrificed, they had been sacrificed in order that Nicholas II might secure the Dardanelles and Galicia. All the imperialists knew this. So did the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries; and if they did not, they were downright idiots not to have studied politics and diplomacy enough to have known what has now been made public in the French papers. These exposures are now becoming more profound, and there will be no end to them. Thanks to this, the workers and peasants in every country are beginning more and more keenly to sense the truth and to realise what the imperialist war was about. That is why they are beginning to believe us, to see that we spoke the truth, and to see that the imperialists were lying when they led them to defend the fatherland.

That explains the miracle of our having won the sympathies of the soldiers of Britain and France, weak and helpless as we were from the military standpoint. It is no longer a

prediction, but a fact. True, the victory cost us untold hardships and incredible sacrifices. During the past two years we have suffered untold torments of starvation which became particularly acute when we were cut off from the grain of the East and the South. Nevertheless, we gained a victory, and a victory that is not only for our country, but for all countries, for all mankind. Never before has there been a case in history when powerful military states have been unable to fight a country so helpless in the military field as the Soviet Republic. Why did this miracle happen? Because when we, the Bolsheviks, led the Russian people into the revolution, we knew very well that this revolution would be a painful one, that it would cost millions of lives; but we knew that we would have the working masses of all countries behind us, and that our truth, by exposing all lies, would triumph more and more as time went on.

After the campaign of the powers against Russia had failed, they tried another weapon. The bourgeoisie of those countries have hundreds of years of experience, and were able to replace their own unreliable weapons by others. At first they tried to use their own soldiers to crush and stifle Russia; now they are trying it with the help of the border states.

Tsarism, the landowners and the capitalists used to oppress a number of the border nations—Latvia, Finland, and so on, where they aroused hatred by centuries of oppression. "Great Russian" became a most hateful word to all these nations which had been drenched in blood. And so the Entente, having failed in fighting the Bolsheviks with the help of its own soldiers, is now banking on the small states, hoping to strangle Soviet Russia with their help.

Churchill, who is pursuing the same sort of policy as Nicholas Romanov, wants to fight, and is fighting, without paying the slightest heed to parliament. He boasted that he would lead fourteen states against Russia—that was in 1919—and that Petrograd would be captured in September and Moscow in December. He was a little too boastful. He banked on the hatred of Russia in all these small states; but he forgot that in these small states there is a clear understanding of what Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin mean. They were once within a few weeks of complete victory.

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

During Yudenich's campaign, when he was quite close to Petrograd, an article appeared in *The Times*, the richest of the British newspapers—I read this editorial myself—which implored, ordered, demanded that Finland help Yudenich—the eyes of the whole world are upon you; you will save liberty, civilisation and culture all over the world. Take the field against the Bolsheviks! This is what Britain said to Finland, and Britain has Finland completely in her pocket; it was said to Finland, who is up to her ears in debt, and who dares not utter a squeak because without Britain she has not enough grain to last her a week.

Such was the pressure brought to bear on all these small states to make them fight Bolshevism. And it failed twice. It failed because the peace policy of the Bolsheviks turned out to be a serious one, and was judged by its enemies to be more honest than the peace policy of any other country, and because a number of countries thought, "Much as we hate Great Russia, which used to suppress us, we know that it was Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin who suppressed us, and not the Bolsheviks." The former head of the Finnish whheguard government has not forgotten that in November 1917 he personally received a document from my hands in which we said without the slightest hesitation that we unreservedly recognised Finland's independence.[130]

At that time this seemed a mere gesture. It was thought that the revolt of the Finnish workers would cause it to be forgotten. But no, such things are not forgotten when they are corroborated by the whole policy of a definite party. And even the Finnish bourgeois government said, "Let's think it over. After all, we have learned something during a hundred and fifty years of oppression by the Russian tsars. If we take the field against the Bolsheviks, we shall help to install Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin. And who are they? Don't we know? Are they not the same breed of tsarist generals who stifled Finland, Latvia, Poland and many other nationalities? And shall we help these enemies of ours to fight the Bolsheviks? No, let us wait!"

They did not dare to refuse outright—they are dependent on the Entente. They did not help us directly; they waited, temporised, wrote Notes, sent delegations, formed commis-

sions, sat in conference, and did so until Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin had been crushed and the Entente defeated in the second campaign too. We were the victors.

If all these small states had taken the field against us—they were supplied with hundreds of millions of dollars and the finest guns and weapons, and had British instructors who had been through the war—if they had taken the field against us, there is not the slightest doubt that we would have been defeated. Everybody knows that very well. But they did not take the field against us, because they realised that the Bolsheviks are more honest. When the Bolsheviks say that they recognise the independence of any nation, that tsarist Russia was based on the oppression of other nations, and that the Bolsheviks never supported this policy, do not support it and never will support it, and that they will never go to war to oppress other nations—when they say that, they are believed. We know this not from the Latvian or Polish Bolsheviks, but from the bourgeoisie of Poland, Latvia, the Ukraine and so on.

Here the international significance of the Bolshevik policy had its effect. It was a test on international and not on Russian soil. It was a test by fire and sword, and not by words. It was a test in the last decisive struggle. The imperialists realised that they had no soldiers of their own, that they could strangle Bolshevism only by mustering international forces; but all international forces were beaten.

What does imperialism mean? It means that a handful of rich powers have a stranglehold on the whole world, when they know that they have the fifteen hundred million people of the world in their hands and have a stranglehold on them, and when these fifteen hundred million feel what British culture, French culture and American civilisation mean—rob for all you are worth! Today three-quarters of Finland has already been bought up by American multimillionaires. The officers who came from Britain and France to our border states to instruct their troops behaved like insolent scions of the Russian nobility in a defeated country. They all profiteered right and left. And the more the Finnish, Polish and Latvian workers starve, the more they are squeezed by a handful of British, American and

French multimillionaires and their henchmen. And this is going on all over the world.

The Russian Socialist Republic alone has raised the standard of war for real emancipation; and sympathy is turning in its favour all over the world. Through the small countries, we have won the sympathy of all the nations of the world, and they represent hundreds of millions of people. They are at present oppressed and downtrodden, they are the most backward part of the population; but the war has enlightened them. Huge masses of people were drawn into the imperialist war. Britain brought regiments from India to fight the Germans. France called millions of Africans to the colours to fight the Germans. They were formed into shock units and hurled into the most dangerous sectors, where they were mown down like grass by machine-guns. But they learned something. Under the tsar the Russian soldiers said, "If die we must, then let it be fighting the landowners"—now the Africans say, "If die we must, then let it not be to help the French predators rob the German capitalist predators, but to emancipate ourselves from the capitalists, German and French." In every country of the world, even in India, where three hundred million people are oppressed and treated as labourers by the British, minds are awakening and the revolutionary movement is growing from day to day. They all look towards one star, the star of the Soviet Republic, because they know that it made tremendous sacrifices in order to fight the imperialists, and that it has withstood the most severe trials.

This was the significance of the second card of the Entente to be beaten—victory on an international scale. It means that our peace policy is approved by the vast majority of people all over the world. It means that the number of our allies in all countries is growing—much more slowly than we would like, it is true, but growing nevertheless.

The victory we won in the offensive engineered against us by Churchill shows that ˜ur policy was right. And after that we won a third victory—a victory over the bourgeois intelligentsia, over the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who in all countries were rabidly hostile to us. They all began to oppose the war against Soviet Russia. In all countries the bourgeois intelligentsia, the Socialist-

Revolutionaries and Mensheviks—this breed, unfortunately, is to be found in all countries (*applause*)—condemned interference in Russian affairs. They declared in all countries that it was a disgrace.

When Britain proposed that the Germans blockade Soviet Russia, and Germany refused, this exhaused the patience of the British and other Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks. They said, "We are enemies of the Bolsheviks and regard them as violators and robbers. But we cannot support the proposal that the Germans join us in strangling Russia by a hunger blockade." And so, within the camp of the enemies, inside their own countries, in Paris, London and so on, where Bolsheviks are being hounded and treated in the way revolutionaries were treated under the tsar—in all cities, the bourgeois intelligentsia have issued the call "Hands off Soviet Russia!" In Great Britain this is the slogan under which the bourgeois intelligentsia are summoning meetings and issuing manifestos.

That is why the blockade had to be lifted. They could not restrain Estonia, and we have concluded peace and can trade with her. We have cut a window open on the civilised world. We have the sympathy of the majority of the working people, and the bourgeoisie are anxious to start trade with Russia as soon as possible.

Now the imperialists are afraid of us, and they have reason to be, for Soviet Russia has emerged from this war stronger than ever. British writers have written that the armies all over the world are disintegrating, and that if there is any country in the world whose army is gaining strength, that country is Soviet Russia. They tried to slander Comrade Trotsky and said that this was so because the Russian army is being kept under iron discipline, which is enforced by ruthless measures, as well as by skilful and widespread agitation.

We have never denied this. War is war, and it demands iron discipline. Have you capitalist gentlemen not employed the same methods? Have you not carried on agitation? Have you not a hundred times more paper and printing works? To compare our literature with yours is like comparing a molehill to a mountain. Yet your propaganda has failed, and ours has succeeded.

The Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks tried an experiment to see whether it was not possible to get along with the capitalists peacefully, and to pass from them to social reform. In Russia they wanted to go over to social reform in an amicable way, so as not to offend the capitalists. They forgot that capitalists are capitalists, and that the only thing to do with them is to vanquish them. They say that in the Civil War the Bolsheviks have drenched the country in blood. But, my dear Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, did you not have eight months to experiment in? Were you not in power with Kerensky from February to October 1917, during which period you had the help of all the Cadets, of the whole Entente, of all the richest countries in the world? Your programme then was one of social reform, without civil war. Is there a fool in the world who would have resorted to revolution if you had really begun social reform? Why did you not do so? Because your programme was a blank, an absurd dream. Because it is impossible to come to terms with the capitalists and secure their obedience peacefully, especially after four years of imperialist war. Do you think there are no clever people in Britain, France and Germany who understand that they went to war for the division of colonies, and that ten million people were killed and twenty million crippled over the division of the spoils? That is what capitalism means. How can you expect to persuade, how can you expect to come to terms with this capitalism which has crippled twenty million people and killed ten million? And we say to the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, "You had the opportunity of trying your experiment. Why did nothing come of it? Because your programme was a sheer utopia, a utopia not only for Russia, but even for Germany, the Germany where the German Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, whom nobody will listen to, are now in power, the Germany where a German Kornilov, armed from head to foot, is preparing reaction,[131] the German republic where fifteen thousand workers have been slaughtered in the streets of the cities. And this is called a democratic republic!" Yet the German Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries have the hardihood to say that the Bolsheviks are a wicked lot, that they have reduced the country

to a state of civil war, whereas in their own country social peace prevails and only fifteen thousand workers have been killed in the streets!

They say that the Civil War and bloodshed in Russia are due to the fact that it is a backward country. But tell us, why is the same thing happening in countries like Finland which are not backward? Why is there a White Terror in Hungary which has shocked the whole world? Why were Luxemburg and Liebknecht assassinated in the German republic, where since the overthrow of the Kaiser, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries have been in power? And why is it not the Mensheviks who are strong there, but Kornilov—and the Bolsheviks too, who, although they are crushed, are strong because of their faith in the justice of their cause and because of their influence over the masses?

There you have the world revolution—which they said the Bolsheviks were using to deceive the people with, when as a matter of fact all hopes of compromise proved to be sheer nonsense.

A big tussle is developing among the bourgeois countries themselves. America and Japan are on the verge of flinging themselves at each other's throats because Japan sat snug during the imperialist war and has grabbed nearly the whole of China, which has a population of four hundred million. The imperialist gentlemen say. "We are in favour of a republic, we are in favour of democracy; but why did the Japanese grab more than they should under our very noses?" Japan and America are on the verge of war, and there is absolutely no possibility of preventing that war, in which another ten million will be killed and twenty million crippled. France, too, says, "Who got the colonies?—Britain." France was victorious, but she is up to her ears in debt; she is in a hopeless position, whereas Britain has piled up wealth. Over there, new combinations and alliances are already being engineered. They want to fling themselves at each other's throats again over the division of colonies. And an imperialist war is again brewing and cannot be prevented. It cannot be prevented, not because the capitalists, taken individually, are vicious—individually they are just like other people—but because they cannot free themselves of the financial meshes in any other way, because the whole

world is in debt, in bondage, and because private property has led and always will lead to war.

All this is causing the roots of the international revolution to strike deeper and deeper. Because of this we have won over the French and British soldiers; because of this we have won the confidence of the small states, and our international position is now better than ever before. And on the basis of a simple calculation we can say that though many hardships still await us, the worst difficulties have already been overcome. The all-powerful Entente no longer holds out any terrors for us: we have defeated it in decisive battles. (*Applause.*)

True, they may still incite Poland against us. The Polish landowners and capitalists are growling and threatening, saying that they want to get back the territory of 1772,[132] that they want to subjugate the Ukraine. We know that France is inciting Poland, flinging millions into that country, because France is bankrupt anyhow and is now putting her last stake on Poland. And we say to the comrades in Poland that we respect her liberty as we respect the liberty of every other nation, and that the Russian workers and peasants, who have experienced the yoke of tsarism, know very well what that yoke meant. We know that it was a heinous crime to divide Poland up among the German, Austrian and Russian capitalists, and that this division doomed the Polish nation to long years of oppression, when the use of the native language was regarded as a crime, and when the whole Polish nation was brought up in one idea, namely, to throw off this treble yoke. We therefore understand the hatred the Poles feel, and we declare to them that we shall never cross the line on which our troops are now stationed—and they are stationed a long way from any Polish population. We are proposing peace on this basis, because we know that this will be a tremendous acquisition for Poland. We do not want war on account of frontiers, because we want to obliterate that accursed past when every Great Russian was regarded as an oppressor.

But since Poland responds to our peace proposal by silence, since she continues to give a free hand to French imperialism, which is inciting her to a war against Russia since fresh trainloads of munitions are arriving in Poland

every day and the Polish imperialists threaten to start a war on Russia, we say, "Just try it! You'll get a lesson you'll never forget." (*Applause.*)

When soldiers died during the imperialist war for the enrichment of the tsar and the landowners, we said frankly and openly that defence of the fatherland in the imperialist war was treachery, that it meant defence of the Russian tsar, who was to get the Dardanelles, Constantinople, and so on. But now that we have published the secret treaties, now that we have embarked on a revolution against imperialist war, now that we have borne untold hardships for the sake of that revolution, now that we have shown that the capitalists in Russia have been suppressed and dare not even dream of returning to the old system, we say that we are not defending the right to plunder other nations, but are defending our proletarian revolution, and will defend it to the very end. The Russia which has been emancipated and which for two years has borne untold suffering for the sake of her Soviet revolution—that Russia we shall defend to our last drop of blood! (*Applause.*)

We know that the time is gone when we were pressed on all sides by imperialist armies and when the working folk of Russia still did not understand the tasks that confronted us. Guerrilla methods prevailed then, each tried to grab a weapon for himself without consideration for the cause as a whole, and disorder and robbery prevailed in the localities. In the course of these two years we have created a united and disciplined army. It has been a very difficult task. You know that the science of war cannot be learned all at once and you also know that only the officers, the colonels and generals, who have remained from the tsarist army, know that science. You have heard, of course, that these old colonels and generals have been responsible for a great deal of treachery, which cost us tens of thousands of lives. All such traitors had to be cleared out, and at the same time we had to select a corps of commanders from among the former officers, so that the workers and peasants might learn from them- for a modern army cannot be built up without science, and we have had to put it in the hands of military experts. It has been a difficult task, but that, too, we have accomplished.

We have created a united army, an army which is now directed by the advanced section, by experienced Communists, who have everywhere succeeded in putting agitation and propaganda on a proper footing. True, the imperialists are also carrying on propaganda, but the peasants are already beginning to understand that there are different kinds of propaganda. They are beginning to tell by instinct what is true and what is false. At any rate, the propaganda which is being carried on by the Mensheviks and which was carried on by Kolchak and Denikin is no longer as successful as it was. Take their posters and pamphlets. They talk about a Constituent Assembly, they talk about liberty and a republic. But the workers and peasants, who have secured liberty at the price of their blood, now understand that the term "Constituent Assembly" serves as a screen for the capitalists; and if anything decided the issue of the struggle against Kolchak and Denikin in our favour, despite the fact that they were supported by the Great Powers, it was that both the peasants and working Cossacks, who for a long time remained in the other camp, have in the end come over to the workers and peasants—and it was only this that finally decided the war and brought about our victory.

With this victory behind us, we must now do our utmost to consolidate it on another front, the bloodless front, the front of the war against the economic chaos to which we have been reduced by the war against the landowners and capitalists, against Kolchak and Denikin. You know what this victory has cost us; you know what a desperate fight we had to put up when we were cut off from the grain-growing regions, from the Urals and Siberia. At that time the Moscow and Petrograd workers had to suffer intolerable torments of hunger. Attempts were made to frighten you with the term "dictatorship of the proletariat", to frighten the peasants and working Cossacks, and instil into their minds the idea that dictatorship meant the arrogant rule of the worker. Actually, however, while Britain and America were doing all they could to support Kolchak and Denikin, the workers of the central cities, exercising their dictatorship, did their best to show everyone by their example how to break away from the landowners and capitalists and march with the working people; for labour unites, while property disunites.

That was the thesis we stuck to throughout these two years, and it led us to victory. We were united by labour, whereas the Entente is steadily disintegrating, because property has turned the imperialists into wild beasts, who from first to last are always squabbling over the division of spoils. Labour has made us a force that is uniting all the working people. And now "dictatorship" is a word that can frighten only utterly ignorant people, if such are still to be found in Russia.

I do not know if any person still remains who has not been taught a lesson by Kolchak and Denikin, and who has not come to realise what the dictatorship of the proletariat means—it means that never has the proletariat of Petrograd, Moscow and the industrial centres suffered such hardships as during these past two years. The peasants of the producing gubernias are now in such a position that they, having possession of the land, get the whole product for themselves. Since the Bolshevik revolution the Russian peasants, for the first time in thousands of years, are working for themselves and can feed better. Yet at the same time, during these two years of struggle the workers, the proletariat, while exercising their dictatorship, have been suffering untold torments of hunger. You now see that dictatorship means leadership, the union of the disunited and scattered working masses, a single, closely-knit whole directed against the capitalists in order to defeat them and to prevent a recurrence of the bloodshed in which ten million people perished and twenty million were crippled. The union of all the labouring people, a single iron will is required to defeat a force like this, which can rely on mighty armies and modern culture. This single iron will can be furnished only by the working masses, only by the workers, the proletariat, only by those class-conscious workers whom decades of strikes and demonstrations have trained in struggle, and who have succeeded in overthrowing tsarism. It can be furnished only by the workers who have borne the brunt of the two years of unparalleled civil war, fighting in the front ranks and creating a united Red Army, which has been joined by tens of thousands of the finest workers, peasants and military and political students, who have been the first to perish and who, in Moscow, Petrograd, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Tver, Yaroslavl and all the industrial cities, have been suffering the terrible

torments of hunger. And this hunger has welded the workers together and brought the peasants and working Cossacks of the producing gubernias to see for themselves that the Bolsheviks were right, for the workers were thus enabled to hold their own in the struggle against the whiteguards.

That is why the working class is entitled to say that by these two years of sacrifice and war it has proved to all the working peasants and to every working Cossack that we must unite and join forces. We must fight those who are profiteering on the famine because they find it more profitable to sell grain at a thousand rubles a pood than to sell it at the fixed price. There is money to be made that way, but it leads back to the old times,-and we shall once more find ourselves in that accursed pit where tsarism ruled and where the capitalists condemned humanity to the imperialist slaughter for the sake of their profits. It would turn us back, and that is something that cannot be allowed. After the struggle against Kolchak and Denikin, the working peasants and Cossacks came to realise the truth that we need unity, and they are taking their places by the side of the workers and looking upon the working class as their leaders. The working peasants saw that no injury derived from the workers' government for there was none to see; it was only the landowners, capitalists and kulaks who did, but then, they are the worst enemies of the working people, they are the allies of those imperialists who were the cause of the bloody war and all the miseries of the people. All working people must unite—only then shall we be victorious.

The bloody war is over and we are now waging a bloodless war, a war against the economic chaos, ruin, poverty and disease to which we have been reduced by four years of imperialist war and two years of civil war. You know that the economic chaos is terrible. In the border regions of Russia, in Siberia and in the South there are today tens of millions of poods of grain; millions of poods have already been collected and transported, yet there is a terrible famine in Moscow, people are dying of starvation because grain cannot be delivered, and it cannot be delivered because the Civil War has completely devastated the country, wrecked the railways and destroyed scores of bridges. Locomotives have broken down, and we are unable to repair them quickly. We

are now trying with great difficulty to secure aid from abroad. We know, however, that it is now possible to start on the complete restoration of industry.

How are we going to restore industry when we cannot exchange manufactured goods for grain because there aren't any?

We know that when the Soviet government takes grain from the peasants at a fixed price it pays them only in paper. What is this paper worth? Although it is not the price of the grain we can only pay in paper money. But we say that this is essential, that the peasants must give their grain as a loan. Is there a single well-fed peasant who would refuse bread to a hungry worker if he knew that this worker, once he had been fed, would repay him in goods? No honest and politically-conscious peasant would refuse to give grain as a loan. Peasants who have surplus grain must let the state have it for paper money—and that means a loan. The only people who do not understand, who do not realise this, are the supporters of capitalism and exploitation, those who want the well-fed man to profit even more at the expense of the hungry man. The workers' government cannot tolerate that, and we shall stop at no sacrifice to combat it. (*Applause.*)

We have now concentrated all our forces on the restoration of industry and are steadfastly waging this new war, in which we shall be as victorious as we have been hitherto. We have instructed a commission of scientists and engineers to draw up a plan for the electrification of Russia. The plan will be ready in two months and will enable us to get a full and clear picture of how, in a few years, the whole of Russia will be covered by a network of electric transmission lines, will be restored in a new way, not the old way, and how she will achieve that culture which our prisoners of war saw in Germany.

That is the way we must restore our industry, and that is the way we shall return a hundredfold the loan of grain we are taking from the peasants. We know that this cannot be done in a year or two; the minimum programme of electrification is calculated for a period of not less than three years, and the complete success of this advanced industry will require not less than ten years. But if we were able to

hold on for two years in such a bloody war, we shall be able to hold on for ten years and more in face of any difficulties. We have gained that experience in leading the masses with the help of urban workers which will carry us through all difficulties on this bloodless front of struggle against economic chaos and will lead to greater victories than those we gained in the war against international imperialism. (Applause.)

Pravda Nos. 47, 48 and 49, *Pravda* text, verified with the booklet, V. I. Lenin, *Speech Delivered at the First All-Russia Congress of Working Cossacks*, Moscow, 1920

Published according to the

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF MEDICAL WORKERS[133] MARCH 1, 1920

MINUTES

(*Comrade Lenin, who was greeted by prolonged applause and by the singing of the* Internationale, *delivered a brief speech of greeting.*) Comrades, allow me to greet your Congress on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars. There is no need to speak here at length about the purposes of the Congress and the work you have done. With the exception of the war front, there is perhaps no field of work that has involved so many sacrifices as yours. Four years of imperialist war have given mankind several million cripples and a number of epidemics.

A tremendous, difficult and responsible task has fallen on our shoulders. The struggle on the war front has shown that the attempts of the imperialists have produced no results The greatest difficulties in the military field are behind us, but we must now set about the task of peaceful development. The experience we gained on the bloody front we shall apply to the bloodless front, where we shall meet with far greater sympathy.

We have succeeded in enlisting the services of thousands of experts, of a vast number of officers and generals, who are occupying responsible posts side by side with Communist workers. We must apply all the determination and all the experience of the Civil War to the fight against epidemics.

Time was when members of the medical profession, too, entertained a distrust of the working class; time was when they, too, dreamed of the restoration of the bourgeois system. But now they, too, are convinced that only together with the proletariat will it be possible to achieve a flourishing state of culture in Russia. Only collaboration between scientists and workers can put an end to oppressive poverty, disease and dirt. And this will be done.

No forces of darkness can withstand an alliance of the scientists, the proletariat and the technologists.

Brief report published in *Izvestia* No. 51, March 6, 1920

Published according to the booklet *Second All-Russia Congress of Representatives of the All-Russia Union of Medical Workers. Minutes and Resolutions*, Moscow, 1920

A LETTER TO R.C.P. ORGANISATIONS ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE PARTY CONGRESS

Dear Comrades,

The Party Congress has been appointed for March 27. The agenda of the Congress has been published, and no doubt all Party organisations have already begun to prepare for the Congress. The Central Committee of the Party deems it its duty to express certain views in connection with this work.

Our Party, which by its persistent struggle over a period of fifteen years (1903-17) had proved its bonds with the working class of Russia, its ability to combat bourgeois influences within the working class and to lead the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the most diverse and most difficult circumstances, naturally had to take upon itself the direct implementation of the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat after the October Revolution. The Congress of our Party is therefore of the utmost importance not only for the entire working-class movement, but also for the entire development of Soviet power and for the guidance of the Russian—and to a certain extent the international—communist movement.

The importance of our Party Congress in this respect is still further enhanced by the specific features of the present moment, when the Soviet government has to accomplish a most difficult transition from the military tasks that formerly absorbed its entire attention to the tasks of peaceful economic development.

The membership of our Party has greatly increased, chiefly owing to the immense influx of workers and peasants during the Party Weeks that were organised at the most

difficult period of our revolution, when Yudenich and Denikin were closest to Petrograd and Moscow. The workers and peasants who joined the Party at such a critical moment constitute a fine and reliable body of leaders of the revolutionary proletariat and of the non-exploiting section of the peasantry. We are confronted with the task of helping, as rapidly, successfully and efficiently as possible, to complete the training of these new members of the Party, of helping to mould them into a body of builders of communism, people who are the most politically conscious and capable of filling the most responsible posts, and at the same time most closely connected with the masses, i.e., with the majority of the workers and of the peasants who do not exploit the labour of others.

Relevant to the specific nature of the present moment, the chief item on the agenda of the forthcoming Congress will be the question of economic development and, in particular, of the measures, ways and means, and results of having a greater proportion of workers in our chief administrations, central boards and Soviet government apparatus in general.

This must be the principal question at the Party Congress, for the principal question in the entire Soviet development in Russia (and—inasmuch as she has become the centre of the world revolution—to a large extent in international communism as well) is the transition from the fight on the bloody front to the fight on the bloodless front, the front of labour, the front of the war against economic chaos, the war for the restoration, improvement, reorganisation and development of Russia's entire economy.

The procurement and transportation of large state supplies of foodstuffs, the restoration of the ruined transport system, the implementation of these measures with military speed, energy and discipline; side by side with this and indivisibly from it, the greater proportion of workers employed in the Soviet government apparatus, the elimination of sabotage and red tape from this apparatus, the achievement of the maximum productivity of labour, the utmost exertion of all the forces of the country for the restoration of the economy—such is the task imperatively dictated by circumstances, an urgent task demanding methods involving the

supreme revolutionary energy of millions and millions of workers and peasants.

The Party Congress must take into account the experience of the labour armies, that young and new institution; it must take into account the experience gained by the entire apparatus of Soviet government over a period of more than two years, and adopt a number of decisions permitting the whole of our Socialist Republic to concentrate all the forces of the working people with redoubled firmness, determination, energy and efficiency on achieving the best possible solution of the urgent problem of rapidly and thoroughly overcoming economic chaos.

We invite all Party members and all Party organisations to concentrate the maximum effort on this problem, both in the practical work of all Soviet institutions and in the work of preparation for the Congress. For these tasks merge into one indivisible whole.

Happily, the time for purely theoretical discussions, disputes over general questions and the adoption of resolutions on principles has passed. That stage is over; it was dealt with and settled yesterday and the day before yesterday. We must march ahead, and we must realise that we are now confronted by a *practical* task, the *business* task of rapidly overcoming economic chaos, and we must do it with all our strength, with truly revolutionary energy, and with the same devotion with which our finest worker and peasant comrades, the Red Army men, defeated Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin.

We must march ahead, we must look ahead, and we must bring to the Congress the *practical experience* of economic development to which thought has been given and which has been carefully *analysed* by the common labour and common effort of all members of the Party.

We have learned something, and in order to march ahead and to overcome economic chaos, what we have to do is not to start anew, not to reconstruct everything right and left, but to *utilise* to the utmost what has already been created. There must be as little general reconstruction as possible and as many as possible business-like measures, ways, means and directions for the attainment of our chief aim which have been tested in practice and verified by results—we must

have more workers in our apparatus, and see that it is done still more widely, still more rapidly and still better, we must enlist an even greater number of workers and labouring peasants in the work of administering industry and the national economy generally; not only must we enlist individual workers and peasants who have best proved themselves on the job, but we must enlist to a larger extent the *trade unions* and conferences of non-party workers and peasants; we must enlist literally all bourgeois specialists (because there are incredibly few of them)—i.e., specialists who have been trained under bourgeois conditions and who have reaped the fruits of bourgeois culture. We must organise things so that, in conformity with the demands of our Party Programme, our working masses may really *learn from these bourgeois specialists* and at the same time place them "in a comradely environment of common labour hand in hand with the masses of rank-and-file workers led by class-conscious Communists" (as our Party Programme puts it); such are our chief aims.

Comrades, we have hitherto been able to surmount the untold difficulties which history has placed in the way of the first socialist republic because the proletariat has properly understood its tasks as dictator, i.e., as the leader, organiser and teacher of all the working people. We won because we have always correctly defined the most urgent, insistent and pressing task and have really concentrated on this task the forces of all the working people of the whole nation.

Military victories are easier to win than economic victory. It was much easier to defeat Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin than to defeat the old petty-bourgeois customs relations, habits and economic conditions upheld and reproduced by millions and millions of small owners, alongside of the workers, together with them, and in the midst of them.

Victory in this field requires greater endurance, greater patience, greater persistence, greater steadfastness, greater system in work, greater organisational and administrative skill on the grand scale. This is what we, a backward nation lack most of all.

Let all members of the Party exert their efforts to bring to the Party Congress *practical* experience, tested, analysed

and summarised. If we bend all our efforts and succeed in pooling, testing and analysing in a careful, thoroughgoing and business-like way this *practical* experience, exactly what each of us has attempted and completed, or has seen others attempt and complete, then, and only then, will our Party Congress, and, following it, all our Soviet institutions, accomplish the *practical* task of overcoming economic chaos as rapidly and surely as possible.

From congresses and meetings to discuss general questions to congresses and meetings to summarise *practical experience*—that is the slogan of our times. The task of the moment and the task of the Party Congress, as we conceive it, is to learn from practical experience, to discard what is harmful, to combine all that is valuable, in order to determine precisely a number of immediate practical measures, and to carry out these measures at all costs, not hesitating at any sacrifices.

Bulletin of the C.C. R.C.P.(B.) No. 13, March 2, 1920

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INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY

Capitalism combines formal equality with economic and, consequently, social inequality. That is one of the principal features of capitalism, one that is deliberately obscured by the supporters of the bourgeoisie, the liberals, and is not understood by petty-bourgeois democrats. This feature of capitalism, incidentally, renders it necessary for us in our resolute fight for economic equality openly to admit capitalist inequality, and even, under certain conditions, to make this open admission of inequality the basis of the proletarian statehood (the Soviet Constitution).

But even in the matter of formal equality (equality before the law, the "equality" of the well-fed and the hungry, of the man of property and the propertyless), capitalism cannot be consistent. And one of the most glaring manifestations of this inconsistency is the *inequality* of women. Complete equality has not been granted even by the most progressive republican, and democratic bourgeois states.

The Soviet Republic of Russia, on the other hand, at once swept away all legislative traces of the inequality of women without exception, and immediately ensured their complete equality before the law.

It is said that the best criterion of the cultural level is the legal status of women. This aphorism contains a grain of profound truth. From this standpoint only the dictatorship of the proletariat, only the socialist state could attain, as it has attained, the highest cultural level. The new, mighty and unparalleled stimulus given to the working women's movement is therefore inevitably associated with the foundation (and consolidation) of the first Soviet

Republic—and, in addition to and in connection with this, with the Communist International.

Since mention has been made of those who were oppressed by capitalism, directly or indirectly, in whole or in part, it must be said that the Soviet system, and only the Soviet system, guarantees democracy. This is clearly shown by the position of the working class and the poor peasants. It is clearly shown by the position of women.

But the Soviet system is the last decisive struggle for the *abolition of classes*, for economic and social equality. Democracy, even democracy for those who were oppressed by capitalism, including the oppressed sex, *is not enough for us*.

It is the chief task of the working women's movement to fight for economic and social equality, and not only formal equality, for women. The chief thing is to get women to take part in socially productive labour, to liberate them from "domestic slavery", to free them from their stupefying and humiliating subjugation to the eternal drudgery of the kitchen and the nursery.

This struggle will be a long one, and it demands a radical reconstruction both of social technique and of morals. But it will end in the complete triumph of communism.

March 4, 1920

Pravda, March 8, 1920
(special issue)
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to
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SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES MARCH 6, 1920

Comrades, I very much regret that there is little probability of my being able to discharge the duties hinted at by the Chairman in reference to my membership of the Moscow Soviet.[134] I am nevertheless very glad to have the opportunity of greeting the new Moscow Soviet. Permit me to say a few words about the tasks which, owing to the general situation in the country, fall particularly to the lot of the Moscow workers, and first and foremost of the Moscow Soviet.

Comrades, it seems there is every hope that we shall, in the near future, emerge completely victorious from the war which was forced upon us by the landowners and capitalists of Russia in alliance with the capitalists of the whole world. I have just received a telegram from a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front, the last remaining front of any importance. This telegram states that the resistance of the enemy has been broken in all directions (*applause*), so that now that we have finished with the Kolchak front and the Archangel front, the day is apparently not far off when the Denikin front, too, will be completely eliminated. But, comrades, no matter how greatly the results of the Civil War and the international situation may favour us, and even though the imperialist powers are obviously on the eve of a complete breakdown, and all their attempts to unite anybody at all for a war against us have ended in failure—no matter how favourable this

situation may be, it must be said that the danger, even the foreign danger, is not yet over. Attempts are still being made, especially by imperialist France, to incite Poland to make war on Russia. You all know, of course, from the press, from the decisions of the Central Executive Committee, and from all the statements made at the Cossack Congress and many other congresses, that the Soviet Republic, on its part, has done all it could to prevent this war, that we have proposed peace to the Polish nation not only officially but in the most friendly way, and have most solemnly recognised the independence of the Polish state, and have made the most positive declarations to this effect. From the military standpoint, we have done everything we could to prevent the Polish landowners and capitalists from carrying out their designs—perhaps not so much their own designs as those of imperialist France, who stands behind their back and to whom they are up to their ears in debt. We have done everything we could to prevent these capitalists and landowners from carrying out their design of inciting the Polish nation to make war on Russia. But although we have done everything we could, future action does not depend upon us. Even the Polish landowners and capitalists themselves do not know what they will do tomorrow. The internal situation in Poland is so grave that they may embark on such a dubious venture because of the obvious danger to their class position, because they feel their end approaching. Consequently, although we have won many victories, we have no guarantee at all that we are secure against foreign attack, and we must be on our guard, we must preserve, develop and strengthen our military preparedness, so as to accomplish the task that confronts the working class. If, in spite of all our efforts, the Polish imperialists, supported by France, embark on a war against Russia, if they launch their military venture, they must receive, and will receive, such a rebuff that their fragile capitalism and imperialism will fall to pieces.

We do not conceal from ourselves, especially from the Moscow and other Russian workers, that fresh effort and new and gigantic sacrifices are now demanded of us, which will be all the more severe because we are just now at the end of a winter—February and March—that has brought

a new aggravation of want, hunger and suffering owing to the ruined state of our railway system. And I must tell you that the war on the bloody front, the civil war directed against the imperialists, is to all appearances coming to an end, and that anyway the enemy can offer no serious menace to us since the attempts of the Entente to launch a general war against us have suffered decisive defeat; the war on the bloodless front, however, still continues and will continue for a long time to come. For the more we leave the military danger behind us the more we are faced with the tasks of internal development; and these have to be carried out by the working class, which has taken upon itself the mission of leading the working masses. These tasks—the restoration of a ruined country and a ruined economy, and the organisation of a socialist society—cannot be accomplished without a war on the bloodless front. That is what the advanced workers, who are now forming the new Moscow Soviet, must impress most firmly on their minds, for the Moscow workers have always been a model, and for some time to come must continue to be a model, which will be followed by the workers of other cities.

We must remember that we are grappling with the task of making a socialist revolution in a country where peasants form the greater part of the population. We have now been joined by the peasant masses of Siberia, where the peasants have surpluses of grain, where they have been corrupted by capitalism, cling to the old freedom of trade, and consider it their sacred right—in this respect they are being led astray by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries (that is their sad lot—there is nothing else for them to do)—they consider it their sacred right to practise freedom of trade in grain surpluses, believing that they can retain this right. It does not matter to them that this supposed civil equality implies the exploitation of the hungry by the well-fed; for peasants who have grain surpluses and refuse to let the starving have them are putting into effect the principles of capitalist relations. They are people who, after having been exploited for hundreds of years, have now become their own masters for the first time, and are in a position, owing to their grain surpluses, to enslave the workers, who, as a result of the collapse of industry, are

unable to give any equivalent in return for the grain. For this reason our attitude towards these petty-bourgeois property-owners, towards the small profiteers, who number millions and who think that because they possess surpluses of grain the farther we go the more they will make, and that the worse the famine the more profitable it will be for those who have grain—our attitude towards them must be one of war. This we say bluntly, and this is the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which openly declares to the worker and peasant masses: "The working peasant is our ally, our friend and brother; but when the peasant acts as a property-owner holding a surplus of grain not required by his household, and acts towards us as a property-owner, as a well-fed man towards a hungry man, such a peasant is our enemy, and we will fight him with the utmost determination, the utmost ruthlessness." Victory over the small property-owners, over the small profiteers, is no easy matter. They cannot be eliminated in one year, many years will be required; it will take organised resistance, stubborn and steadfast work, step by step over a long period of time—it will take an incessant day-to-day struggle, which it is particularly difficult to wage and in which the profiteering peasant is very often victorious over the worker. But we will fight on the bloodless front so that the hungry may secure from the well-fed the surpluses they possess, despite all obstacles and despite the desire of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks to introduce freedom of trade and leave these surpluses in the possession of the well-fed.

We have done a great deal of work during the past two years. We have enlisted the peasant and worker masses in this work, and have everywhere been able to secure what we needed. At a time when the whiteguard officers, the former tsarist officers, were fighting us on the side of our enemies, we enlisted tens and hundreds of these experts in our work, which helped to remake them. They helped us do our work, in conjunction with our commissars. They themselves learned from us how the work should be done, and in return gave us the benefit of their technical knowledge. And it was only with their help that the Red Army was able to win the victories it did. We must now divert all this work into

another channel. It must be work of a peaceful character; we must devote everything to the work on the labour front. We must direct our former property-owners, who were our enemies. We must mobilise all who are capable of working and compel them to work with us. We must at all costs wipe from the face of the earth the last traces of the policy of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries—the policy which talks of personal freedom, etc.—because it would doom us to starvation. This attitude must be adopted in all our work. The advanced section of the proletariat is assuming the leadership of the rest of the population, and it says: "We must get you to understand our ideas fully and to put them into effect, just as we got you to come over more and more to our side."

The first task that confronts us here is to clean up Moscow, to put an end to the filth and state of neglect into which it has sunk. We must do this so as to set an example to the whole country, where this filth, which brings with it epidemics and disease, is becoming more and more prevalent. We must set this example here, in Moscow, an example such as Moscow has set many times before.

We must bear in mind that we are faced with the task of restoring the transport system. In the spring we must introduce control by the worker masses. We must effect it in respect of those market gardeners in the vicinity of Moscow who are taking advantage of the fact that there are starving fellow-beings around them to pocket millions. The fact that any rich market gardener can squeeze untold profits out of his poor neighbours is an atrocious injustice, which we cannot tolerate.

What must we do? Specialists must give us the benefit of their knowledge so that we may carry our ideas into effect. The class which has just elected the new Moscow Soviet must tackle this work, and carry it out more practically and in greater detail than hitherto.

We know that the proletariat is not very large numerically; but we also know that the Petrograd workers, who were in the front ranks of the Red Army, gave us their best forces whenever we needed them, gave them for the fight against the enemy in greater numbers than we thought possible. We have said that Petrograd, Moscow and Ivanovo-

Voznesensk have given us a vast number of people. But that is not enough; they must give us all we need. We have to utilise all the bourgeois specialists who accumulated knowledge in the past and who must pay with this knowledge now. It is with the help of these people that we must do our work; it is with their help that we must conquer all we need—conquer, and create our own militant contingents of workers who will learn from them and direct them, and who will always turn to the broad masses of the workers to explain this experience. That is what the Moscow Soviet, as one of the most important and one of the biggest of the proletarian Soviets, must accomplish at all costs. The fifteen hundred members of the Moscow Soviet, plus the alternate members, constitute an apparatus through which you can draw upon the masses and constantly enlist them, inexperienced though they are, in the work of administering the state.

The worker and peasant masses who have to build up our entire state must start by organising state control. You will obtain this apparatus from among the worker and peasant masses, from among the young workers and peasants who have been fired as never before with the independent desire, the readiness and determination to set about the work of administering the state themselves. We have learned from the experiences of the war and shall promote thousands of people who have passed through the school of the Soviets and are capable of governing the state. You must recruit the most diffident and undeveloped, the most timid of the workers for the workers' inspection and promote them. Let them progress in this work. When they have seen how the workers' inspection participates in state affairs, let them gradually proceed from the simple duties they are able to carry out—at first only as onlookers—to more important functions of state. You will secure a flow of assistants from the widest sources who will take upon themselves the burden of government, who will come to lend a hand and to work. We need tens of thousands of new advanced workers. Turn for support to the non-party workers and peasants, turn to them, for our Party must remain a narrow party, surrounded as it is by enemies on all sides. At a time when hostile elements are trying by every method of warfare, deceit and provocation to cling to us and to take

advantage of the fact that membership of a government party offers certain privileges, we must act in contact with the non-party people. The laws on the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection grant the right to enlist non-party workers and peasants and their conferences in the work of government. This apparatus is one of the means whereby we can increase the number of workers and peasants who will help us to achieve victory on the internal front in a few years. For a long time this victory will not be as simply, decisively and clearly apparent as the victory on the war front. This victory demands vigilance and effort, and you can ensure it by carrying out the job of development of Moscow and its environs and helping in the general work of restoring the transport system, of restoring that general economic organisation which will help us to get rid of the direct and indirect influence of the profiteers and to vanquish the old traditions of capitalism. We should not grudge a few years for this. Even if we had these conditions, such social reforms as these would be without parallel, and here to set ourselves tasks designed only for a short period of time would be a great mistake.

Allow me to conclude by expressing the hope and assurance that the new Moscow Soviet, bearing in mind all the experience gained by its predecessor in the course of the Civil War, will draw new forces from among the youth and will tackle the affairs of economic development with all the energy, firmness and persistence with which we tackled military affairs, and so gain victories which, if not as brilliant, will be more solid and substantial.

Published in 1921 in *Verbatim Reports of the Plenary Sessions of the Moscow Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies*, Moscow

Published according to the book

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET IN CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL MARCH 6, 1920

Comrades, a year has passed since the founding of the Communist International. During this year the Communist International has been successful beyond all expectation; we may say boldly that at the time of its foundation no one expected such immense successes.

In the early period of the revolution many entertained the hope that the socialist revolution would begin in Western Europe immediately the imperialist war ended; at the time when the masses were armed there could have been a successful revolution in some of the Western countries as well. It could have taken place, had it not been for the split within the proletariat of Western Europe being deeper and the treachery of the former socialist leaders greater than had been imagined.

To this day we lack exact information on how the demobilisation proceeded and how the war is being wound up. We do not know, for example, what happened in Holland, and only from an article containing an account of a Dutch Communist's speech (from one chance article—there were many such articles) have I been able to learn that the revolutionary movement in Holland, a neutral country that was less involved in the imperialist war, assumed such dimensions that the formation of Soviets was started, and Troelstra, one of the most important figures in the opportunist Dutch Social-Democratic Party, admitted that the workers could have seized power.

Had the International not been in the hands of traitors who worked to save the bourgeoisie at the critical moment, there would have been many chances of a speedy revolution in many belligerent countries as soon as the war ended and also in some neutral countries, where the people were armed; then the outcome would have been different.

Things did not turn out that way, revolution did not succeed so quickly, and it now has to follow the whole path of development that we began even before the first revolution, before 1905; for it was only due to more than ten years having passed before 1917 that we were capable of leading the proletariat.

What happened in 1905 was, so to speak, a rehearsal for the revolution, and it was partly because of this that we in Russia succeeded in using the moment of the collapse of the imperialist war for the proletariat to seize power. Owing to historical developments, owing to the utter rottenness of the autocracy, we were able to begin the revolution with ease; but the easier it was to begin it the harder it has been for this solitary country to continue it, and with the experience of this year behind us we can say to ourselves that in other countries, where the workers are more developed, where there is more industry, where the workers are far more numerous, the revolution has developed more slowly. It has taken our path, but at a much slower pace.

The workers are continuing this slow development, paving the way for the proletarian victory which is advancing with undoubtedly greater speed than was the case with us; because when you look at the Third International you wonder that it has spread so rapidly, moving from success to success.

Look at the way our ugly words, such as "Bolshevism", for example, are spreading throughout the world. Despite the fact that we call ourselves the Communist Party, and that the name "Communist" is a scientific, European term, it is not as widespread in European and other countries as the word "Bolshevik" is. Our Russian word "Soviet" is one of the most widely used, it is not even translated into other languages, but is pronounced everywhere in Russian.

Despite the lies in the bourgeois press, despite the furious resistance offered by the entire bourgeoisie, the sympathies

of the masses of the workers are on the side of the Soviets, Soviet power and Bolshevism. The more the bourgeoisie lied the more they helped to spread throughout the world what we had experienced with Kerensky.

On their arrival from Germany, some of the Bolsheviks were met here with attacks and persecutions, organised in the "democratic republic" in real American style. Kerensky, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks did their best to assist this witch-hunt. In this way they stirred up sections of the proletariat and made them think that there must be something good about the Bolsheviks if they are subjected to such persecution. (*Applause.*)

And when you get fragmentary information from abroad from time to time, when—being unable to follow the entire press—you read, for example, Britain's richest newspaper, *The Times*, and find it quoting Bolshevik statements to prove that during the war the Bolsheviks were preaching civil war, you draw the conclusion that even the cleverest representatives of the bourgeoisie have completely lost their heads. This British newspaper directs attention to the book *Against the Stream*, recommends it to British readers and gives quotations to show that the Bolsheviks are the very worst of people, who speak of the criminal character of the imperialist war and preach civil war; it convinces you that the entire bourgeoisie, while they hate us, are helping us—and we bow to them and thank them. (*Applause.*)

We have no daily press either in Europe or in America; information about our work is very meagre, and our comrades are suffering the most severe persecution. But when you see that the very wealthy Allied imperialist press, from which hundreds of thousands of other newspapers draw their information, has lost its sense of proportion to such a degree that in its desire to injure the Bolsheviks it prints numerous quotations from the writings of Bolsheviks, digging them up from war-time publications in order to prove that we spoke of the criminal character of the war and worked to transform it into a civil war, it shows that these very clever gentlemen will become as stupid as our Kerensky and his comrades were. We can therefore vouch for it that these people, the leaders of British imperialism, will make a

clean and enduring job of helping the communist revolution. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, before the war it seemed that the main division in the working-class movement was the division into socialists and anarchists. Not only did it seem so; it was so. In the protracted period that preceded the imperialist war and the revolution, no objective revolutionary situation existed in the overwhelming majority of European countries. What had to be done at that time was to use this slow process for revolutionary preparation. The socialists began it, but the anarchists did not see the need for it. The war created a revolutionary situation, and the old division proved to be outdated. On the one hand, the top leaders of anarchism and socialism became chauvinists; they showed what it meant to defend their own bourgeois robbers against other bourgeois robbers, both of whom were responsible for the loss of millions of lives in the war. On the other hand, new trends arose among the rank and file of the old parties—against the war, against imperialism and for social revolution. A most profound crisis thus developed owing to the war; both the anarchists and the socialists split, because the parliamentary leaders of the socialists were in the chauvinist wing while an ever-growing minority of the rank and file left them and began to take the side of the revolution.

Thus the working-class movement in all countries followed a new line, not the line of the anarchists and the socialists, but one that could lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This split had become apparent throughout the world and had started before the Third International was founded.

If our party has been successful it is because it came into being when the situation was revolutionary and when the labour movement was already in existence in all countries; and we therefore see now that a split has taken place in socialism and anarchism. All over the world, this is leading to communist workers participating in the formation of new organisations and to their uniting in the Third International. That is the most correct attitude.

Disagreements are again arising, for example, over the question of using parliaments, but since the experience of the Russian revolution and the Civil War, since the figure

of Liebknecht and his role and importance among parliamentarians, have become known to the world, it is absurd to reject the revolutionary use of parliaments. It has become clear to people of the old way of thinking that the question of the state cannot be presented in the old way, that the old, bookish approach to this question has been succeeded by a new one based on practice and born of the revolutionary movement.

A united and centralised force of the proletariat must be counterposed to the united and centralised force of the bourgeoisie. The question of the state has thus now been shifted to a new plane, and the old disagreement has begun to lose its meaning. The old division of the working-class movement has yielded to new ones, the attitude towards Soviet government and to the dictatorship of the proletariat having assumed prime importance.

The Soviet Constitution is clear evidence of what the Russian revolution has produced. Our experience and the study of it have shown that all the groups of the old issues are now reduced to one: for or against Soviet rule, either for bourgeois rule, for democracy (for those forms of democracy which promise equality between the well-fed and the hungry, equality between the capitalist and the worker at the ballot-box, between the exploiters and the exploited, and serve to camouflage capitalist slavery), or for proletarian rule, for the ruthless suppression of the exploiters, for the Soviet state.

Only supporters of capitalist slavery can favour bourgeois democracy. We can see that in the whiteguard literature of Kolchak and Denikin. Many Russian cities have been cleared of this filth, and the literature collected and sent to Moscow. When you scan the writings of Russian intellectuals like Chirikov, or of bourgeois thinkers like Y. Trubetskoi, it is interesting to see that they help Denikin and at the same time argue about the Constituent Assembly, equality, etc. These arguments about the Constituent Assembly are of service to us; when they conducted this propaganda among the whiteguard rank and file they helped us in the same way as the entire course of the Civil War, all the events, helped us. By their own arguments they proved that Soviet rule is backed by sincere revolutionaries who

sympathise with the struggle against the capitalists. That has been made perfectly clear during the Civil War.

After the experience gained, after what has happened in Russia, Finland and Hungary, after a year's experience in the democratic republics, in Germany, one cannot object to, and write disquisitions about, the need for a central authority, for dictatorship and a united will to ensure that the vanguard of the proletariat shall close its ranks, develop the state and place it upon a new footing, while firmly holding the reins of power. Democracy has completely exposed itself; that is why signs of the strengthening of the communist movement for Soviet rule, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, have increased tremendously in all countries and have taken on the most diverse forms.

This has reached a point where such parties as the German Independents and the French Socialist Party, which are dominated by leaders of the old type who have failed to understand either the new propaganda or the new conditions, and have not in the least changed their parliamentary activity, but are turning it into a means of dodging important issues and engaging the workers' attention with parliamentary debates—even these leaders have to recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power. This is because the masses of the workers are making themselves felt and forcing them to recognise it.

You know from the speeches of other comrades that the breakaway of the German Party of Independents, the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Soviet government was the last decisive blow dealt to the Second International. Taking the existing state of affairs into consideration, it may be said that the Second International has been killed, and that the proletarian masses in Germany, Britain and France are taking the side of the Communists. In Britain there is also a party of Independents which persists in adhering to legality and in condemning the violence of the Bolsheviks. A discussion forum was recently opened in their newspaper. Well, the question of Soviets is being discussed there, and next to an article printed in British working-class newspapers we see an article by an Englishman who refuses to reckon with the theory of socialism and persists in his stupid contempt for theory, but who, taking the

conditions of life in Britain into consideration, reaches a definite conclusion and says that they cannot condemn the Soviets, but should support them.

This shows that things have begun to change even among the backward sections of the workers in countries like Britain, and it may be said that the old forms of socialism have been killed for ever.

Europe is not moving towards revolution the way we did, although essentially Europe is going through the same experience. In its own way, every country must go through, and has begun to go through, an internal struggle against its own Mensheviks and against its own opportunists and Socialist-Revolutionaries, which exist under different names to a greater or lesser degree in all countries.

And it is because they are experiencing this independently that we can be sure the victory of the communist revolution in all countries is inevitable and that the greater the vacillations in the enemies' ranks, and the uncertainty in their declarations that the Bolsheviks are criminals and that they will never conclude peace with them, the better for us.

They are now saying that even if they do trade with the Bolsheviks they will not recognise them. We have nothing against that; try it, gentlemen, please. As for your not recognising us, we can understand that. We would consider it a mistake on your part if you did recognise us. But if you have become so muddled that you first declare that the Bolsheviks are violators of all the laws of God and man, and that you will not talk or make peace with them, and then say that you will begin exchanges, without recognising our policy, that is a victory for us which will give an impulse to and strengthen the communist movement among the masses in every country. So deep is the movement that, in addition to those that are officially affiliated to the Third International, a number of movements are to be seen in the advanced countries, movements that do not adhere either to socialism or communism, but which are being drawn towards Bolshevism by the force of circumstances although they continue to condemn it.

War in the twentieth century, in a civilised country, compels governments to expose their own actions. A French newspaper has published some documents belonging to the

ex-Emperor Charles of Austria who in 1916 offered peace to France. Now that his letter has been published, the workers are asking Albert Thomas, the socialist leader, who was in the government at the time, what he did when an offer of peace- was made to that government. When Albert Thomas was asked about it, he made no reply.

These exposures have only just begun. The masses of the people are literate, and neither in Europe nor in America can they retain the old attitude towards war. They are asking for what cause 10 million people were killed and 20 million crippled. The presentation of this question makes the popular masses turn towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. To present this question is to answer it: 10 million people were killed and 20 million crippled in order to settle the issue of who would amass the greater wealth, the German or the British capitalists. That is the truth, and no matter what efforts are made to conceal it, it is spreading.

The fall of the capitalist governments is unavoidable, because everybody can see that another war like the last is inevitable if the imperialists and the bourgeoisie remain in power. New disputes and conflicts are developing between Japan and America. They have been prepared by decades in the diplomatic history of the two countries. Wars are inevitable because of private property. War is inevitable between Britain, which has acquired colonies through plunder, and France, which considers herself robbed of her full share. No one knows where and how it will break out, but everybody sees, knows and says that war is inevitable, and is being prepared again.

This situation in the twentieth century, in countries with a totally literate population, is our guarantee that the old reformism and anarchism are out of the question. They were killed by the war. To talk of using reforms in order to remake the capitalist society which spent thousands of millions of rubles on the war, to talk of remaking this society without a revolutionary government and without force, without tremendous upheavals, is impermissible. Anyone who speaks and thinks that way is of no importance.

The Communist International is strong because it is based on the lessons of the world imperialist slaughter. In every country the correctness of its position finds increasing con-

firmation in the experience of millions of people, and the movement towards the Communist International is now a hundred times wider and deeper than before. It has brought about the complete break-down of the Second International in one year.

In every country (even the most undeveloped) in the world, all thinking workers are aligning themselves with the Communist International, and are accepting its ideas. Therein lies the full guarantee that the victory of the Communist International throughout the world, in the not very distant future, is assured. (*Applause.*)

Communist International
No. 10, 1920
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to the magazine text

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF WATER TRANSPORT WORKERS[135] MARCH 15, 1920

The water transport system is at the moment of the greatest importance and significance to Soviet Russia, and the Congress will certainly devote the most serious attention and care to the tasks that confront water transport workers. Allow me to dwell on the question which the Communist Party and the trade unions are more interested in than in any other, and which you too no doubt are keenly debating; I refer to the management of industry. This question figures as a special point on the agenda of the Party Congress. Theses on the subject are being published. The comrades in the water transport system must also discuss it.

You know that one of the points in dispute, one that arouses the liveliest discussion both in the press and at meetings, is that of one-man management or corporate management. I think that the preference for corporate management not infrequently betrays an inadequate comprehension of the tasks confronting the Republic; what is more, it often testifies to insufficient class-consciousness. When I reflect on this question, I always feel like saying that the workers have not yet learned enough from the bourgeoisie. This is graphically shown by the countries where the democratic socialists, or Social-Democrats, prevail, who are now participating in governments in Europe and America, under various guises and in some form of alliance with the bourgeoisie. They have been ordained by God himself to share the old prejudices; but in our country, after two years of proletarian rule, we should not only want, but should strive to inculcate upon the proletariat a class-consciousness that does not fall short of that of the bourgeoisie. Look how the

bourgeoisie administer the state; how they have organised the bourgeois class. In the old days, could you have found anyone who shared the views of the bourgeoisie and was their loyal defender, and yet argued that individual authority is incompatible with the administration of the state? If there had been such a blockhead among the bourgeoisie he would have been laughed to scorn by his own class fellows, and would not have been allowed to talk or hold forth at any important meeting of capitalists and bourgeois. They would have asked him what the question of administration through one person or through a corporate body had to do with the question of class.

The shrewdest and richest bourgeoisies are the British and American; the British are in many respects more experienced, and they know how to rule better than the Americans. And do they not furnish us with examples of maximum individual dictatorship, of maximum speed in administration, and yet they keep the power fully and entirely in the hands of their own class? There you have a lesson, comrades, and I think that if you give it some thought, if you recall the not very distant past, when the Ryabushinskys, Morozovs and other capitalists ruled Russia—if you recall how, after the overthrow of the autocracy, during the eight months Kerensky, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries were in power, they managed so perfectly and with such remarkable rapidity to change their hue, to assume every kind of label, to make every kind of outward, formal concession, and yet keep the power fully and completely in the hands of their own class—I think that a little reflection on the lesson of Britain and on this concrete example will do much more to help understand the matter of one-man management than many abstract, purely theoretical resolutions, compiled in advance.

It is claimed that corporate management means management by the workers, and that individual management means non-worker management. The mere fact that the question is presented in this way, the mere fact that this sort of argument is used shows that we still lack a sufficiently clear class-consciousness; and not only so, but that we are less clear about our class interests than the bourgeois gentry are. And that is natural. They did not learn to rule in two

years, but in two hundred years, and much more than two hundred years if you take the European bourgeoisie. We must not give way to despair because we have been unable to learn everything in two years; but it is important—events demand it—that we should learn more rapidly than our enemies have. They have had hundreds of years to learn in; they have opportunities to learn all over again and correct their mistakes, because on a world scale they are infinitely stronger than we are. We have no time to learn; we must approach the question of corporate management from the standpoint of positive and concrete facts. I am sure you will come to adopt the policy on this question outlined by the Central Committee of the Party; it has been published and is being discussed at every Party meeting, but for the men on the job, for the water transport workers, who have been at it for two years the truth of this is obvious. And I hope the vast majority of those present here, who are familiar with practical management, will understand that we must not confine ourselves to a general discussion of the question, but must act like serious practical men, abolishing the collegiums and managing without them.

All administrative work requires special qualifications. You may be the very best of revolutionaries and propagandists, and yet be absolutely useless as an administrator. But anybody who studies real life and has practical experience knows that management necessarily implies competency, that a knowledge of all the conditions of production down to the last detail and of the latest technology of your branch of production is required; you must have had a certain scientific training. These are the conditions we must satisfy at any cost. And when we move general resolutions in which we talk with the pomposity of experts about corporate management and one-man management, the conviction gradually dawns upon us that we know practically nothing about management, but we are beginning to learn a little from experience, to weigh every step and to promote every administrator who shows any ability.

You know from the debates in the Central Committee that we are not opposed to placing workers at the head, but we say that this question must be settled in the interests of production. We cannot wait. The country is so badly ruined,

calamities—famine, cold and general want—have reached such a pitch that we cannot continue like this any longer. No devotion, no self-sacrifice can save us if we do not keep the workers alive, if we do not provide them with bread, if we do not succeed in procuring large quantities of salt, so as to recompense the peasants by properly organised exchange and not with pieces of coloured paper which cannot keep us going for long. The very existence of the power of the workers and peasants, the very existence of Soviet Russia is at stake. With management in the hands of incompetent people, with fuel not delivered in time, with locomotives, steamers and barges standing unrepaired, the very existence of Soviet Russia is at stake.

Our rail transport system is in a far worse state than our water transport system. It has been ruined by the Civil War, which was mainly conducted along the land routes; both sides destroyed mostly bridges, and this has put the whole railway system in a desperate state of ruin. We shall restore it. Almost daily we are doing a little bit towards restoring it. But it will be some time before the system is completely restored. If even advanced and cultured countries are suffering from disrupted transport systems, how are we to restore ours in Russia? But repaired it must be, and quickly, for the population cannot endure another winter like the last. Whatever the heroism of the workers, whatever their spirit of self-sacrifice, they cannot go on enduring all the torments of hunger, cold, typhus and so on. So tackle the question of management like practical men. See to it that management is conducted with the minimum expenditure of forces; see to it that the administrators, whether experts or workers, are capable men, that they all work and manage, and let it be considered a crime for them not to take part in the work of management. Learn from your own practical experience. Learn from the bourgeoisie as well. They knew how to maintain their class rule; they have the experience we cannot do without and to ignore it would be sheer conceit and entail the utmost danger to the revolution.

Earlier revolutions perished because the workers were unable to retain power by means of a firm dictatorship and did not realise that they could not retain power by dicta-

torship, by force, by coercion alone; power can be maintained only by adopting the whole experience of cultured, technically-equipped, progressive capitalism and by enlisting the services of all these people. When workers undertaking the job of management for the first time adopt an unfriendly attitude towards the expert, the bourgeois, the capitalist who only recently was a director, who raked in millions and oppressed the workers, we say—and no doubt the majority of you also say—that these workers have only just begun to move towards communism. If communism could be built with experts who were not imbued with the bourgeois outlook, that would be very easy; but such communism is a myth. We know that nothing drops from the skies; we know that communism grows out of capitalism and can be built only from its remnants, they are bad remnants, it is true, but there are no others. Whoever dreams of a mythical communism should be driven from every business conference, and only those should be allowed to remain who know how to get things done with the remnants of capitalism. There are tremendous difficulties in the work, but it is fruitful work, and every expert must be treasured as being the only vehicle of technology and culture, without whom there can be nothing, without whom there can be no communism.

Our Red Army was victorious in another sphere because we solved this problem in relation to the Red Army. Thousands of former officers, generals, and colonels of the tsarist army betrayed and sold us, and thousands of the finest Red Army men perished as a result—that you know. But tens of thousands are serving us although they remain supporters of the bourgeoisie, and without them there would have been no Red Army. And you know that when two years ago we tried to create a Red Army without them, it ended in guerrilla methods and disorder; the result was that our ten to twelve million soldiers did not make up a single division. There was not a single division fit to fight, and with our millions of soldiers we were unable to cope with the tiny regular army of the whiteguards. We learned this lesson at the cost of much bloodshed, and it must now be applied to industry.

Experience tells us that everyone with a knowledge of bourgeois culture, bourgeois science and bourgeois technology

must be treasured. Without them we shall be unable to build communism. The working class, as a class, rules; it created Soviet power, holds that power as a class, and can take every supporter of bourgeois interests and fling him out neck and crop. Therein lies the strength of the proletariat. But if we are to build a communist society, let us frankly admit our complete inability to conduct affairs, to be organisers and administrators. We must approach the matter with the greatest caution, bearing in mind that only that proletarian is class-conscious who is able to prepare the bourgeois expert for the forthcoming navigation season and who does not waste his time and energy, more than enough of which is always wasted on corporate management.

I repeat, our fate may depend more on the forthcoming navigation season than on the forthcoming war with Poland, if it is forced upon us. War too, you know, is hampered by the break-down of the transport system. We have plenty of troops, but we cannot transport them, we cannot supply them with food; we cannot bring up salt, of which we have large quantities, and without an exchange of goods, proper relations with the peasants are inconceivable. That is why the entire Republic, Soviet power as a whole, the very existence of the power of the workers and peasants, imposes on the present navigation season tasks of great and exceptional importance. Not one week, not one day, not one minute must be lost; we must put an end to this chaos and increase our possibilities three- and fourfold.

Everything, perhaps, depends on fuel, but the fuel situation is now better than it was last year. We can float more timber, if we do not allow mismanagement. Things are much better with regard to oil, to say nothing of the fact that in the near future Grozny will most likely be in our hands; and although this is still problematical, the Emba fields are ours, and there we have ten to fourteen million poods of oil already. And if the water transport system helps us to deliver large quantities of building material to Saratov quickly and in good time, we shall cope with the railway to the Emba fields. And you know what it means to have oil for the water transport system. We shall not be able to get the railways going in a short time. God grant—not God, of course, but our ability to overcome the old prejudices of the

workers—that we improve the railways a little in four or five months. And so, the water transport system must carry out a task of heroic proportions during this year's navigation period.

Dash, ardour and enthusiasm alone can do nothing; organisation, endurance and honest effort are what will help, when the loudest voice is not that of the man who fears the bourgeois expert and treats us to general talk, but that of the man who is able to establish and to exercise firm authority—let it be even individual authority, provided it is used in the interests of the proletariat—and who realises that everything depends on the water transport system.

To make progress we must erect a ladder; in order to get the sceptical to climb that ladder, we must put things in order, we must select and promote people who are able to put the water transport system in order. There are some who say in reference to military discipline: "The idea! What do we want it for?" Such people do not realise the situation in Russia and do not realise that although the fight on the bloody front is coming to an end, the fight on the bloodless front is only beginning, that no less effort, exertion and sacrifice is required here, and that the stakes are no smaller and the resistance greater rather than less. Every wealthy peasant, every kulak and every member of the old administration who does not want to act in the interests of the workers is our enemy. Do not cherish any illusions. Victory demands a tremendous struggle and iron, military discipline. Whoever does not understand this understands nothing about the conditions needed to maintain the power of the workers, and his ideas do great harm to this power of the workers and peasants.

That is why, comrades, I will conclude my speech by expressing the hope and certainty that you will devote the greatest attention to the tasks of the forthcoming navigation season, and will make it your aim, and will stop at no sacrifice, to create real, iron, military discipline and to perform in the sphere of water transport miracles as great as those performed during the past two years by our Red Army. (*Applause.*)

Pravda Nos. 59 and 60,
March 17 and 18, 1920

Published according to
the *Pravda* text

SPEECH AT A MEETING IN MEMORY OF Y. M. SVERDLOV[136] MARCH 16, 1920

BRIEF NEWSPAPER REPORT

Referring to the late Comrade Sverdlov's great talent as an organiser, Lenin said that this reminded one of the significance of organisation and of the role of organisers in Soviet development. Describing the extreme importance of organisation, Lenin pointed out that organisation was, in fact, the principal weapon of the working class in the revolutionary struggle. He spoke of the alignment of social forces at various periods since the October Revolution, and declared that the dictatorship of the proletariat would have been impossible had the working people not been united. He drew the conclusion that organisation was the mainspring of all our successes on the war fronts, as well as of the successes gradually being achieved in combating economic disruption. Lenin gave an appreciation from this angle of the work of the late Comrade Sverdlov as an organiser, and went on to say that we had such a vanguard of organisers because they had passed through a severe school of life when they had to work in underground organisations. Such a vanguard of organisers was particularly needed at that moment in Germany, which was passing through a stage of Kornilovism. Lenin said that there were many talented organisers among the working people, even among the non-party workers and peasants, but that we had not yet learned to find them and to place them in suitable posts. He expressed the conviction that increasing numbers of organisers

would in future emerge from among the working people, and that they would remember the work of Comrade Sverdlov and firmly follow in his footsteps.

Pravda Nos. 59
March 17, 1920

Published according to
the *Pravda* text

TWO RECORDED SPEECHES[137]

1

WORK FOR THE RAILWAYS

Comrades, the great victories of the Red Army have delivered us from the onslaught of Kolchak and Yudenich and have almost put an end to Denikin.

The troops of the landowners and capitalists who wanted, with the aid of the capitalists of the whole world, to re-establish their rule in Russia have been routed.

The imperialist war and then the war against counter-revolution, however, have laid waste to and ruined the entire country.

We must bend all efforts to conquer the chaos, to restore industry and agriculture, and to give the peasants the goods they need in exchange for grain.

Now that we have defeated the landowners and liberated Siberia, the Ukraine, and the North Caucasus, we have every opportunity of restoring the country's economy.

We have a lot of grain, and we now have coal and oil. We are being held up by transport. The railways are out of action. Transport must be rehabilitated. Then we can bring grain, coal and oil to the factories, then we can deliver salt, then we shall begin to restore industry and put an end to the hunger of the factory and railway workers.

Let all workers and peasants set about rehabilitating the railways, let them set about the work with persistence and enthusiasm.

All the work necessary for the restoration of transport must be carried out with the greatest zeal, with revolutionary fervour, with unreserved loyalty.

We have been victorious on the front of the bloody war.
We shall be victorious on the bloodless front, on the labour front.
All out for work to restore transport!

Recorded at the end of March 1920

First published in *Pravda* No. 18, January 21, 1928

Published according to the gramophone record

2

LABOUR DISCIPLINE

Why was it we defeated Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin although the capitalists of all the world helped them?

Why are we confident that we shall now defeat the economic chaos and rehabilitate industry and agriculture?

We overthrew the landowners and capitalists because the men of the Red Army, workers and peasants, knew they were fighting for their own vital interests.

We won because the best people from the entire working class and from the entire peasantry displayed unparalleled heroism in the war against the exploiters, performed miracles of valour, withstood untold privations, made great sacrifices and got rid of scroungers and cowards.

We are now confident that we shall conquer the chaos because the best people from the entire working class and from the entire peasantry are joining this struggle with the same political consciousness, the same firmness and the same heroism.

When millions of working people unite as one and follow the best people from their class, victory is assured.

We drove the scroungers out of the army. And now we say, "Down with the scroungers, down with those who think of their own advantage, of speculation and of shirking work, those who are afraid of the sacrifices necessary for victory!"

Long live labour discipline, zeal in work and loyalty to the cause of the workers and peasants!

Eternal glory to those who died in the front ranks of the Red Army!

Eternal glory to those who are now leading millions of working people and who with the greatest zeal march in the front ranks of the army of labour!

Recorded at the end of March 1920

First published in *Pravda* No. 18, January 21, 1928

Published according to the gramophone record

Российская Коммунистическая Партия (большевиков).

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!

Личная анкета

для делегатов 9-го С'езда Р. К. П. (большевиков).

1. Имя, отчество и фамилия. Владимир Ильич Ульянов (Ленин)

2. № делегатского билета решающий совещательный 381

3. В какой организации числитесь (уезд. губерния). Москва

4. Число членов вашей организации 35 000

5. Как избраны (на губконференции, уездконференции, общем собрании и т. д.) и когда. Моск. горконференцией

6. Число представленных членов партии на губконференции, уездконференции, общем собрании, на которой вы были избраны на С'езд. 35.000

7. Возраст 50

8. Образование. Высшее

9. Бывшая профессия (указать вполне определенно), или какие специальности знаете. Присяж. поверен. Журналист

10. Национальность. Великорос

11. Семейное положение. Женат

Партийная работа.

12. С какого времени состоите членом Р. К. П. (год, месяц). С 1893 года

13. На каких Всероссийских партийных С'ездах вы участвовали. Кандидат на всех

14. Какую партийную работу исполняли, когда и где. Члена ЦК и раз. ц-о.

First page
of the questionnaire filled in
by Lenin as delegate
to the Ninth Congress
of the R,C.P.(B.)
March 29, 1920

Reduced

NINTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.)[138]

MARCH 29-APRIL 5, 1920

Published in the book
Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party. Verbatim Report.
Moscow, 1920

Published according to the book, verified with the shorthand notes

Published in the book
Ninth Congress of the Russian
Communist Party. Verbatim Report.
Moscow, 1920

Published according to
the book, verified with
the shorthand notes

1

OPENING SPEECH
MARCH 29

First of all allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to greet the delegates who have assembled for the Party Congress.

Comrades, we are opening this present Congress of the Party at a highly important moment. The internal development of our revolution has led to very big and rapid victories over the enemy in the Civil War, and, in view of the international situation, these victories, we find, are nothing more nor less than the victory of the Soviet revolution in the first country to make this revolution—a very weak and backward country—a victory over the combined forces of world capitalism and imperialism. And after these victories we may now proceed with calm and firm assurance to the immediate tasks of peaceful economic development, confident that the present Congress, having reviewed the experience of over two years of Soviet work, will be able to utilise the lesson gained in order to cope with the more difficult and complex task of economic development that now confronts us. From the international standpoint, our position has never been as favourable as it is now; and what fills us with particular joy and vigour is the news we are daily receiving from Germany, which shows that, however difficult and painful the birth of a socialist revolution may be, the proletarian Soviet power in Germany is spreading irresistibly. The part played by the German Kornilov-type putsch was similar to that of Kornilov revolt in Russia. After that a swing towards a workers' government began, not only among the masses of urban workers, but also among the rural proletariat of Ger-

many. And this swing is of historic importance. Not only is it one more absolute confirmation of the correctness of the line, but it gives us the assurance that the time is not far off when we shall be marching hand in hand with a German Soviet government. (*Applause*.)

I hereby open the Congress and request you to nominate a presidium.

2

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
MARCH 29

Comrades, before beginning my report I must say that, like the report at the preceding Congress, it is divided into two parts: political and organisational. This division first of all leads one to think of the way the work of the Central Committee has developed in its external aspect, the organisational aspect. Our Party has now been through its first year without Y. M. Sverdlov, and our loss was bound to tell on the whole organisation of the Central Committee. No one has been able to combine organisational and political work in one person so successfully as Comrade Sverdlov did and we have been obliged to attempt to replace his work by the work of a collegium.

During the year under review the current daily work of the Central Committee has been conducted by the two collegiums elected by the plenary meeting of the Central Committee—the Organising Bureau of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. In order to achieve co-ordination and consistency in the decisions of these two bodies, the Secretary was a member of both. In practice it has become the main and proper function of the Organising Bureau to distribute the forces of the Party, and that of the Political Bureau to deal with political questions. It goes without saying that this distinction is to a certain extent artificial; it is obvious that no policy can be carried out in practice without finding expression in appointments and transfers. Consequently, every organisational question assumes a political significance; and it has become the established practice for the request of a single member of the

Central Committee to be sufficient to have any question, for one reason or another, examined as a political question. To have attempted to divide the functions of the Central Committee in any other way would hardly have been expedient and in practice would hardly have achieved its purpose.

This method of conducting business has produced extremely good results: no difficulties have arisen between the two bureaus on any occasion. The work of these bodies has on the whole proceeded harmoniously, and practical implementation has been facilitated by the presence of the Secretary who acted, furthermore, solely and exclusively in pursuance of the will of the Central Committee. It must be emphasised from the very outset, so as to remove all misunderstanding, that only the corporate decisions of the Central Committee adopted in the Organising Bureau or the Political Bureau, or by a plenary meeting of the Central Committee—only these decisions were carried out by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. The work of the Central Committee cannot otherwise proceed properly.

After these brief remarks on the arrangement of work within the Central Committee, I shall get on with my job, which is the report of the Central Committee. To present a report on the political work of the Central Committee is a highly difficult task if understood literally. A large part of the work of the Political Bureau has this year consisted in making the current decision on the various questions of policy that have arisen, questions of co-ordinating the activities of all the Soviet and Party institutions and all organisations of the working class, of co-ordinating and doing their utmost to direct the work of the entire Soviet Republic. The Political Bureau adopted decisions on all questions of foreign and domestic policy. Naturally, to attempt to enumerate these questions, even approximately, would be impossible. You will find material for a general summary in the printed matter prepared by the Central Committee for this Congress. To attempt to repeat this summary in my report would be beyond my powers, and I do not think it would be interesting to the delegates. All of us who work in a Party or Soviet organisation keep daily track of the extraordinary succession of political questions, both foreign and domestic. The way these questions have been decided, as expressed in the decrees

of the Soviet government, and in the activities of the Party organisations, at every turn, is in itself an evaluation of the Central Committee of the Party. It must be said that the questions were so numerous that they frequently had to be decided under conditions of extreme haste, and it was only because the members of the body concerned were so well acquainted with each other, knew every shade of opinion and had confidence in each other, that this work could be done at all. Otherwise it would have been beyond the powers of a body even three times the size. When deciding complex questions it frequently happened that meetings had to be replaced by telephone conversations. This was done in the full assurance that obviously complicated and disputed questions would not be overlooked. Now, when I am called upon to make a general report, instead of giving a chronological review and a grouping of subjects, I shall take the liberty of dwelling on the main and most essential points, such, moreover, as link up the experience of yesterday, or, more correctly, of the past year, with the tasks that now confront us.

The time is not yet ripe for a history of Soviet government. And even if it were, I must say for myself—and I think for the Central Committee as well—that we have no intention of becoming historians. What interests us is the present and the future. We take the past year under review as material, as a lesson, as a stepping-stone, from which we must proceed further. Regarded from this point of view, the work of the Central Committee falls into two big categories—work connected with war problems and those determining the international position of the Republic, and work of internal, peace-time economic development, which only began to come to the fore at the end of the last year perhaps, or the beginning of this year, when it became quite clear that we had won a decisive victory on the decisive fronts of the Civil War. Last spring our military situation was an extremely difficult one; as you remember, we were still to experience quite a number of defeats, of new, huge and unexpected offensives on the part of the counter-revolution and the Entente, none of which could have been anticipated by us. It was therefore only natural that the greater part of this period was devoted to the military

problem, the problem of the Civil War, which seemed unsolvable to all the faint-hearted, not to speak of the parties of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and other petty-bourgeois democrats, and to all the intermediate elements; this induced them to declare quite sincerely that the problem could not be solved, that Russia was backward and enfeebled and could not vanquish the capitalist system of the entire world, seeing that the revolution in the West had been delayed. And we therefore had to maintain our position and to declare with absolute firmness and conviction that we would win, we had to implement the slogans "Everything for victory!" and "Everything for the war!"

To carry out these slogans it was necessary to deliberately and openly leave some of the most essential needs unsatisfied, and time and again to deny assistance to many, in the conviction that all forces had to be concentrated on the war, and that we had to win the war which the Entente had forced upon us. It was only because of the Party's vigilance and its strict discipline, because the authority of the Party united all government departments and institutions, because the slogans issued by the Central Committee were adopted by tens, hundreds, thousands and finally millions of people as one man, because incredible sacrifices were made—it was only because of all this that the miracle which occurred was made possible. It was only because of all this that we were able to win in spite of the campaigns of the imperialists of the Entente and of the whole world having been repeated twice, thrice and even four times. And, of course, we not only stress this aspect of the matter; we must also bear in mind that it teaches us that without discipline and centralisation we would never have accomplished this task. The incredible sacrifices that we have made in order to save the country from counter-revolution and in order to ensure the victory of the Russian revolution over Denikin, Yudenich and Kolchak are a guarantee of the world social revolution. To achieve this, we had to have Party discipline, the strictest centralisation and the absolute certainty that the untold sacrifices of tens and hundreds of thousands of people would help us to accomplish all these tasks, and that it really could be done, could be accomplished. And for this purpose it was essential that our Party and the class which

is exercising the dictatorship, the working class, should serve as elements uniting millions upon millions of working people in Russia and all over the world.

If we give some thought to what, after all, was the underlying reason for this historical miracle, why a weak, exhausted and backward country was able to defeat the most powerful countries in the world, we shall find that it was centralisation, discipline and unparalleled self-sacrifice. On what basis? Millions of working people in a country that was anything but educated could achieve this organisation, discipline and centralisation only because the workers had passed through the school of capitalism and had been united by capitalism, because the proletariat in all the advanced countries has united—and united the more, the more advanced the country; and on the other hand, because property, capitalist property, small property under commodity production, disunites. Property disunites, whereas we are uniting, and increasingly uniting, millions of working people all over the world. This is now clear even to the blind, one might say, or at least to those who will not see. Our enemies grew more and more disunited as time went on. They were disunited by capitalist property, by private property under commodity production, whether they were small proprietors who profiteered by selling surplus grain at exorbitant prices and enriched themselves at the expense of the starving workers, or the capitalists of the various countries, even though they possessed military might and were creating a League of Nations, a "great united league" of all the foremost nations of the world. Unity of this kind is a sheer fiction, a sheer fraud, a sheer lie. And we have seen—and this was a great example—that this notorious League of Nations, which attempted to hand out mandates for the government of states, to divide up the world—that this notorious alliance proved to be a soap-bubble which at once burst, because it was an alliance founded on capitalist property. We have seen this on a vast historical scale, and it confirms that fundamental truth which told us that our cause was just, that the victory of the October Revolution was absolutely certain, and that the cause we were embarking on was one to which, despite all difficulties and obstacles, millions and millions of working people in all countries

would rally. We knew that we had allies, that it was only necessary for the one country to which history had presented this honourable and most difficult task to display a spirit of self-sacrifice, for these incredible sacrifices to be repaid a hundredfold—every month we held out in our country would win us millions and millions of allies in all countries of the world.

If, after all, we give some thought to the reason we were able to win, were bound to win, we shall find that it was only because all our enemies—who were formally tied by all sorts of bonds to the most powerful governments and capitalists in the world—however united they may have been formally, actually turned out to be disunited. Their internal bond in fact disunited them, pitted them against each other. Capitalist property disintegrated them, transformed them from allies into savage beasts, so that they failed to see that Soviet Russia was increasing the number of her followers among the British soldiers who had been landed in Archangel, among the French sailors in Sevastopol, among the workers of all countries, of all the advanced countries without exception, where the social-compromisers took the side of capital. In the final analysis this was the fundamental reason, the underlying reason, that made our victory certain and which is still the chief, insuperable and inexhaustible source of our strength; and it permits us to affirm that when we in our country achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat in full measure, and the maximum unity of its forces, through its vanguard, its advanced party, we may expect the world revolution. And this in fact is an expression of will, an expression of the proletarian determination to fight; it is an expression of the proletarian determination to achieve an alliance of millions upon millions of workers of all countries.

The bourgeoisie and the pseudo-socialist gentry of the Second International have declared this to be mere propagandist talk. But it is not, it is historical reality, borne out by the bloody and painful experience of the Civil War in Russia. For this Civil War was a war against world capital; and world capital disintegrated of itself, devoured itself, amidst strife, whereas we, in a country where the proletariat was perishing from hunger and typhus, emerged more

hardened and stronger than ever. In this country we won the support of increasing numbers of working people. What the compromisers formerly regarded as propagandist talk and the bourgeoisie were accustomed to sneer at, has been transformed in these years of our revolution, and particularly in the year under review, into an absolute and indisputable historical fact, which enables us to say with the most positive conviction that our having accomplished this is evidence that we possess a world-wide basis, immeasurably wider than was the case in any previous revolution. We have an international alliance, an alliance which has nowhere been registered, which has never been given formal embodiment, which from the point of view of "constitutional law" means nothing, but which, in the disintegrating capitalist world, actually means everything. Every month that we gained positions, or merely held out against an incredibly powerful enemy, proved to the whole world that we were right and brought us millions of new supporters.

This process has been a difficult one; it has been accompanied by tremendous defeats. In this very year under review the monstrous White terror in Finland[139] was followed by the defeat of the Hungarian revolution, which was stifled by the governments of the Entente countries that deceived their parliaments and concluded a secret treaty with Rumania.

It was the vilest piece of treachery, this conspiracy of the international Entente to crush the Hungarian revolution by means of a White terror, not to mention the fact that in order to strangle the German revolution they were ready for any understanding with the German compromisers,[140] and that these people, who had declared Liebknecht to be an honest German, pounced on this honest German like mad dogs together with the German imperialists. They exceeded all conceivable bounds; but every such act of suppression on their part only strengthened and consolidated us, while it undermined them.

And it seems to me that we must first and foremost draw a lesson from this fundamental experience. Here we must make a special point of basing our agitation and propaganda on an analysis, an explanation of why we were victorious, why the sacrifices made in the Civil War have been repaid a hundredfold, and how we must act, on the basis of this

experience, in order to succeed in another war, a war on a bloodless front, a war which has only changed its form, but which is being waged against us by those same representatives, lackeys and leaders of the old capitalist world, only still more vigorously, still more furiously, still more zealously. More than any other, our revolution has proved the rule that the strength of a revolution, the vigour of its assault, its energy, determination, its victory and its triumph intensify the resistance of the bourgeoisie. The more victorious we are the more the capitalist exploiters learn to unite and the more determined their onslaught. For, as you all distinctly remember—it was not so long ago when judged by the passage of time, but a long time ago when judged by the march of events—at the beginning of the October Revolution Bolshevism was regarded as a freak; this view, which was a reflection of the feeble development and weakness of the proletarian revolution, very soon had to be abandoned in Russia and has now been abandoned in Europe as well. Bolshevism has become a world-wide phenomenon, the workers' revolution has raised its head. The Soviet system, in creating which in October we followed the traditions of 1905, developing our own experience—this Soviet system has become a phenomenon of world-historic importance.

Two camps are now quite consciously facing each other all over the world; this may be said without the slightest exaggeration. It should be noted that only this year have they become locked in a decisive and final struggle. And now, at the time of this very Congress, we are passing through what is perhaps one of the greatest, most acute but not yet completed periods of transition from war to peace.

You all know what happened to the leaders of the imperialist powers of the Entente who loudly announced to the whole world: "We shall never stop fighting those usurpers, those bandits, those arrogators of power, those enemies of democracy, those Bolsheviks"—you know that first they lifted the blockade, that their attempt to unite the small states failed, because we succeeded in winning over not only the workers of all countries, but also the bourgeoisie of the small countries, for the imperialists oppress not only the workers of their own countries but the bourgeoisie of the small states as well. You know that we won over the vacil-

lating bourgeoisie in the advanced countries. And the present position is that the Entente is breaking its former promises and assurances and is violating the treaties which, incidentally, it concluded dozens of times with various Russian whiteguards. And now, as far as these treaties are concerned, the Entente is the loser, for it squandered hundreds of millions on them but failed to complete the job.

It has now lifted the blockade and has virtually begun peace negotiations with the Soviet Republic. But it is not completing these negotiations, and therefore the small states have lost faith in it and in its might. So we see that the position of the Entente, its position in foreign affairs, defies all definition from the standpoint of the customary concepts of law. The states of the Entente are neither at peace with the Bolsheviks nor at war with them; they have recognised us and they have not recognised us. And this utter confusion among our opponents, who were so convinced that they represented something, proves that they represent nothing but a pack of capitalist beasts who have fallen out among themselves and are absolutely incapable of doing us any harm.

The position today is that Latvia has officially made peace proposals[141] to us. Finland has sent a telegram which officially speaks of a demarcation line but actually implies a swing to a policy of peace.[142] Lastly, Poland, the Poland whose representatives have been, and still are, sabre-rattling so vigorously, the Poland that has been, and still is, receiving so many trainloads of artillery and promises of help in everything, if only she would continue the war with Russia—even Poland, the unstable position of whose government compels her to consent to any military gamble, has invited us to begin negotiations for peace.[143] We must be extremely cautious. Our policy demands the most careful thought. Here it is hardest of all to find the proper policy, for nobody as yet knows on what track the train is standing; the enemy himself does not know what he is going to do next. The gentlemen who represent French policy and who are most zealous in egging Poland on, and the leaders of landowner and bourgeois Poland do not know what will happen next; they do not know what they want. Today they say, "Gentlemen, let us have a few trainloads of guns and a few hundred

millions and we are prepared to fight the Bolsheviks." They are hushing up the news of the strikes that are spreading in Poland; they are tightening up the censorship so as to conceal the truth. But the revolutionary movement in Poland is growing. The spread of revolution in Germany, in its new phase, in its new stage, now that the workers, after the German Kornilov-type putsch, are creating Red Armies, plainly shows (as can be seen from the recent dispatches from Germany) that the temper of the workers is rising more and more. The Polish bourgeoisie and landowners are themselves beginning to wonder whether it is not too late, whether there will not be a Soviet Republic in Poland before the government acts either for war or for peace. They do not know what to do. They do not know what the morrow will bring.

But we know that our forces are growing vastly every month, and will grow even more in future. The result is that our international position is now more stable than ever. But we must watch the international crisis with extreme care and be prepared for any eventuality. We have received a formal offer of peace from Poland. These gentlemen are in desperate straits, so desperate that their friends, the German monarchists, people with better training and more political experience and knowledge, plunged into a venturous gamble, a Kornilov-type putsch. The Polish bourgeoisie are throwing out offers of peace because they know that any venturous gamble may prove to be a Polish Kornilov-type affair. Knowing that our enemy is in desperate straits, that our enemy does not know what he wants to do or what he will do tomorrow, we must tell ourselves quite definitely that in spite of the peace overtures war is possible. It is impossible to foretell what their future conduct will be. We have seen these people before, we know these Kerenskys, these Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. During the past two years we have seen them one day drawn towards Kolchak, the next day almost towards the Bolsheviks, and then towards Denikin—and all this camouflaged by talk about freedom and democracy. We know these gentlemen, and therefore we grasp at the proposal of peace with both hands and are prepared to make the maximum concessions, in the conviction that the conclusion of peace with the small states will further our cause infinitely more than war. For the

imperialists used war to deceive the working masses, they used it to conceal the truth about Soviet Russia. Any peace, therefore, will open channels for our influence a hundred times wider, which, as it is, has grown considerably in these past few years. The Third, Communist International has achieved unparalleled successes. But at the same time we know that war may be forced upon us any day. Our enemies do not themselves know as yet what they are capable of doing in this respect.

That war preparations are under way, of that there is not the slightest doubt. Many of the states bordering on Russia—and perhaps many of those not bordering on Russia—are now arming. That is why we must manoeuvre so flexibly in our international policy and adhere so firmly to the course we have taken, that is why we must be prepared for anything. We have waged the war for peace with extreme vigour. This war is yielding splendid results. We have made a very good showing in this sphere of the struggle, at any rate, not inferior to the showing made by the Red Army on the front where blood is being shed. But the conclusion of peace with us does not depend on the will of the small states even if they desire it. They are up to their ears in debt to the countries of the Entente, who are wrangling and competing desperately among themselves. We must therefore remember that peace is of course possible from the point of view of the world situation, the historical situation created by the Civil War and by the war against the Entente.

But the measures we take for peace must be accompanied by intensified preparedness for defence, and in no case must our army be disarmed. Our army offers a real guarantee that the imperialist powers will not make the slightest attempt or encroachment on us; for although they might count on certain ephemeral successes at first, not one of them would escape defeat at the hands of Soviet Russia. That we must realise, that must be made the basis of our agitation and propaganda, that is what we must prepare for, in order to solve the problem which, in view of our growing fatigue, compels us to combine the one with the other.

I now pass to those important considerations of principle which induced us to direct the working masses so resolutely along the lines of using the army for the solution

of certain basic and immediate problems. The old source of discipline, capital, has been weakened, the old source of unity has disappeared. We must create a different kind of discipline, a different source of discipline and unity. Coercion evokes the indignation, the howls, the yells and outcries of the bourgeois democrats, who make great play of the words "freedom" and "equality", but do not understand that freedom for capital is a crime against the working people, that equality between the rich and the destitute is a crime against the working people. In our fight against falsehood, we introduced labour conscription and proceeded to unite the working people, not hesitating to use coercion. For no revolution has ever been effected without coercion, and the proletariat has a right to exercise coercion in order to hold its own at all costs. When those gentry, the bourgeois, the compromisers, the German Independents, the Austrian Independents, and the French Longuetists, argued about the historical factor, they always forgot such a factor as the revolutionary determination, firmness and steadfastness of the proletariat. And that factor is precisely the steadfastness and firmness of the proletariat of our country, which declares, and has proved by its deeds, that we are prepared to perish to a man rather than yield our territory, rather than yield our principle, the principle of discipline and firm policy, for the sake of which everything else must be sacrificed. At the time when the capitalist countries and the capitalist class are disintegrating, at this moment of crisis and despair, this political factor is the only decisive one. Talk about minority and majority, about democracy and freedom decides nothing, however much the heroes of a past historical period may invoke them. It is the class-consciousness and firmness of the working class that count here. If the working class is prepared to make sacrifices, if it shows that it is able to strain every nerve, the problem will be solved. Everything must be directed to the solution of this problem. The determination of the working class, its inflexible adherence to the watchword "Death rather than surrender!" is not only a historical factor, it is the decisive, the winning factor.

We are now going over from this victory and this conviction to problems of peaceful economic development, the

solution of which is the chief function of our Congress. In this respect we cannot, in my opinion, speak of a report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, or, rather, of a political report of the Central Committee. We must say frankly and bluntly that this, comrades, is a question which you must decide, which you must weigh with all your authority as the supreme Party body. We have laid the question before you quite clearly. We have taken up a definite stand. It is your duty finally to endorse, correct or amend our decision. But in its report the Central Committee must say that on this fundamental and urgent question it has adopted an absolutely definite stand. Yes, the thing now is to apply to the peaceful work of economic development, to the restoration of our shattered industry, everything that can weld the proletariat into an absolute unity. Here we need the iron discipline, the iron system, without which we could not have held on for two months, let alone over two years. We must be able to utilise our success. On the other hand, it must be realised that this transition will demand many sacrifices, of which the country has already made so many.

On the principle involved the Central Committee was quite clear. Our activities were entirely governed by this policy and conducted in this spirit. Take, for example, the question of corporate management versus individual management, which you will have to settle—a question which may appear to be a subsidiary one, and which in itself, if torn from its context, cannot of course claim to be a fundamental question of principle. This question should be examined only from the point of view of our basic knowledge, experience and revolutionary practice. For instance, we are told that "corporate management is one of the forms in which the masses participate in the work of administration". But we on the Central Committee discussed this question and took our decision, which we have to report to you—comrades, such theoretical confusion cannot be tolerated. Had we permitted a tenth part of this theoretical confusion in the fundamental question of our military activities, of our Civil War, we would have been beaten, and would have deserved to be beaten.

Permit me, comrades, in connection with the report of the Central Committee and with this question of whether the

new class should participate in the work of administration on a corporate or an individual basis, to introduce a little bit of theory, to point out how a class governs and what class domination actually is. After all, we are not novices in these matters, and what distinguishes our revolution from former revolutions is that there is nothing utopian about it. The new class, having replaced the old class, can maintain itself only by a desperate struggle against other classes; and it will finally triumph only if it can bring about the abolition of classes in general. That is what the vast and complex process of the class struggle demands; otherwise you will sink into a morass of confusion. What is class domination? In what way did the bourgeoisie dominate over the feudal lords? The Constitution spoke of freedom and equality. That was a lie. As long as there are working men, property-owners are in a position to profiteer, and indeed, as property-owners, are compelled to profiteer. We declare that there is no equality, that the well-fed man is not the equal of the hungry man, that the profiteer is not the equal of the working man.

How is class domination expressed today? The domination of the proletariat consists in the fact that the landowners and capitalists have been deprived of their property. The spirit and basic idea of all previous constitutions, even the most republican and democratic, amounted to one thing—property. Our Constitution has the right, has won itself the right, to a place in history by virtue of the fact that the abolition of property is not confined to a paper declaration. The victorious proletariat has abolished property, has completely annulled it—and therein lies its domination as a class. The prime thing is the question of property. As soon as the question of property was settled practically, the domination of the class was assured. When, after that, the Constitution recorded on paper what had been actually effected, namely, the abolition of capitalist and landed property, and added that under the Constitution the working class enjoys more rights than the peasantry, while exploiters have no rights whatever—that was a record of the fact that we had established the domination of our class, thereby binding to ourselves all sections and all small groups of working people.

The petty-bourgeois property-owners are disunited; those who have more property are the enemies of those who have less property; and the proletarians, by abolishing property, have declared open war on them. There are still many unenlightened and ignorant people who are wholly in favour of any kind of freedom of trade, but who cannot fight when they see the discipline and self-sacrifice displayed in securing victory over the exploiters; they are not with us, but are powerless to come out against us. It is only the domination of a class that determines property relations and which class is to be on top. Those who, as we so frequently observe, associate the question of the nature of class domination with the question of democratic centralism create such confusion that all successful work on this basis becomes impossible. Clarity in propaganda and agitation is a fundamental condition. When our enemies said and admitted that we had performed miracles in developing agitation and propaganda, that was not to be understood in the superficial sense that we had large numbers of agitators and used up large quantities of paper, but in the intrinsic sense that the truth contained in that propaganda penetrated to the minds of all; there is no escaping from that truth.

Whenever classes displaced each other, they changed property relations. When the bourgeoisie superseded the feudals, it changed property relations; the Constitution of the bourgeoisie says: "The man of property is the equal of the beggar." That was bourgeois freedom. This kind of "equality" ensured the domination of the capitalist class in the state. But do you think that when the bourgeoisie superseded the feudals they confused the state with the administration? No, they were no such fools. They declared that the work of administration required people who knew how to administer, and that they would adapt feudal administrators for that purpose. And that is what they did. Was it a mistake? No, comrades, the art of administration does not descend from heaven, it is not inspired by the Holy Ghost. And the fact that a class is the leading class does not make it at once capable of administering. We have an example of this: while the bourgeoisie were establishing their victory they took for the work of administration members of another class, the feudal class; there was nowhere else to get them from.

We must be sober and face the facts. The bourgeoisie had recourse to the old class; and we, too, are now confronted with the task of taking the knowledge and training of the old class, subordinating it to our needs, and using it all for the success of our class. We, therefore, say that the victorious class must be mature, and maturity is attested not by a document or certificate, but by experience and practice.

When the bourgeoisie triumphed, they did not know how to administer; and they made sure of their victory by proclaiming a new constitution and by recruiting, enlisting administrators from their own class and training them, utilising for this purpose administrators of the old class. They began to train their own new administrators, fitting them for the work with the help of the whole machinery of state; they sequestrated the feudal institutions and admitted only the wealthy to the schools; and in this way, in the course of many years and decades, they trained administrators from their own class. Today, in a state which is constructed on the pattern and in the image of the dominant class, we must act as every state has acted. If we do not want to be guilty of sheer utopianism and meaningless phrase-mongering, we must say that we must take into account the experience of the past; that we must safeguard the Constitution won by the revolution, but that for the work of administration, of organising the state, we need people who are versed in the art of administration, who have state and business experience, and that there is nowhere we can turn to for such people except the old class.

Opinions on corporate management are all too frequently imbued with a spirit of sheer ignorance, a spirit of opposition to the specialists. We shall never succeed with such a spirit. In order to succeed we must understand the history of the old bourgeois world in all its profundity; and in order to build communism we must take technology and science and make them available to wider circles. And we can take them only from the bourgeoisie—there is nowhere else to get them from. Prominence must be given to this fundamental question, it must be treated as one of the basic problems of economic development. We have to administer with the help of people belonging to the class we have overthrown; they are imbued with the prejudices of their class and we must re-educate them. At the same time we must recruit our own

administrators from our own class. We must use the entire machinery of state to put the schools, adult education, and all practical training at the service of the proletarians, the factory workers and the labouring peasants, under the guidance of the Communists.

That is the only way to get things going. After our two years' experience we cannot argue as though we were only just setting about the work of socialist construction. We committed follies enough in and around the Smolny period. That is nothing to be ashamed of. How were we to know, seeing that we were undertaking something absolutely new? We first tried one way, then another. We swam with the current, because it was impossible to distinguish the right from the wrong; that requires time. Now that is all a matter of the recent past, which we have got beyond. That past, in which chaos and enthusiasm prevailed, is now over. One document from that past is the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. It is a historic document—more, it was a period of history. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was forced upon us because we were helpless in every way. What sort of period was it? It was a period of impotence, from which we emerged victorious. It was a period in which corporate management was universal. You cannot escape that historical fact by declaring that corporate management is a school of administration. You cannot stay for ever in the preparatory class of a school! (Applause.) That will not do. We are grown-up now, and we shall be beaten and beaten again in every field if we behave like schoolboys. We must push forward. We must push higher with energy and unanimity of will. Tremendous difficulties face the trade unions. We must get them to regard this task in the spirit of the fight against the survivals of the celebrated democracy. All these outcries against appointees, all this old and dangerous rubbish which finds its way into various resolutions and conversations must be swept away. Otherwise we cannot succeed. If we have failed to master this lesson in these two years, we are lagging, and those who lag, get beaten.

The task is an extremely difficult one. Our trade unions have been of tremendous assistance in building the proletarian state. They were a link between the Party and the unenlightened millions. Let us not close our eyes to the fact

that the trade unions bore the brunt of the struggle against all our troubles when the state needed help in food work. Was this not a tremendous task? The recent issue of the *Bulletin of the Central Statistical Board* contains summaries by statisticians who certainly cannot be suspected of Bolshevism. Two interesting figures are given: in 1918 and 1919 the workers in the consuming gubernias received seven poods a year, while the peasants in the producing gubernias consumed seventeen poods a year. Before the war they used to consume sixteen poods a year. There you have two figures illustrating the relation of classes in the struggle for food. The proletariat continued to make sacrifices. People shout about coercion! But the proletariat justified and legitimatised coercion; it justified it by making the greatest sacrifices. The majority of the population, the peasants of the producing gubernias of our starving and impoverished Russia, for the first time had more food than throughout the centuries of tsarist and capitalist Russia. And we say that the masses will go on starving until the Red Army is victorious. The vanguard of the working class had to make this sacrifice. This struggle is a school; but when we leave this school we must go forward. This step must now be taken at all costs. Like all trade unions, the old trade unions have a history and a past. In the past they were organs of resistance to those who oppressed labour, to capitalism. But now that their class has become the governing class, and is being called upon to make great sacrifices, to starve and to perish, the situation has changed.

Not everybody understands this change, not everybody grasps its significance. And certain Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries who are demanding that corporate management be substituted for individual management have helped us in this matter. No, comrades, that won't work. We have got beyond that. We are now faced with a very difficult task; having gained victory on the bloody front, we must now gain victory on the bloodless front. This war is a more difficult one. This front is the most arduous. We say this frankly to all class-conscious workers. The war which we have withstood at the front must be followed by a bloodless war. The fact is that the more we were victorious, the more regions we secured like Siberia, the Ukraine and the

Kuban. In those regions there are rich peasants; there are no proletarians, and what proletariat there is, has been corrupted by petty-bourgeois habits. We know that everybody who has a piece of land in those parts says: "A fig for the government, I'll get all I can out of the starving. A fat lot I care for the government." The peasant profiteer who, when left to the tender mercies of Denikin, was swinging towards us will now be aided by the Entente. The war has changed its front and its forms. It is now taking the form of trade, of food profiteering, which it has made international. In Comrade Kamenev's theses published in the *Bulletin of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.)* the underlying principles are stated fully. They want to make food profiteering international. They want to turn peaceful economic development into the peaceful disintegration of Soviet power. No you don't, my imperialist gentlemen! We are on our guard. We declare: we have fought and won, and we shall therefore retain as our basic slogan the one which helped us to victory; we shall fully preserve that slogan and apply it to the field of labour. That slogan is the firmness and unity of will of the proletariat. The old prejudices, the old habits that still remain, must be discarded.

I should like in conclusion, to dwell on Comrade Gusev's pamphlet,[144] which in my opinion deserves attention for two reasons. It is a good pamphlet not only from the formal standpoint, not only because it has been written for our Congress. Somehow, up to now we have all been accustomed to writing resolutions. They say that all literature is good except tedious literature. Resolutions, I take it, should he classed as tedious literature. It would be better if we followed Comrade Gusev's example and wrote fewer resolutions and more pamphlets, even though they bristled with errors as his does. The pamphlet is good in spite of these errors, because it centres attention on a fundamental economic plan for the restoration of industry and production throughout the country, and because it subordinates everything to this fundamental economic plan. The Central Committee has introduced into the theses distributed today a whole paragraph taken entirely from Comrade Gusev's theses. This fundamental economic plan can be worked out in greater detail with the help of experts. We

must remember that the plan is designed for many years to come. We do not promise to deliver the country from hunger all at once. We say that the struggle will be much harder than the one on the war front. But it is a struggle that interests us more; it brings us nearer to our immediate and main tasks. It demands that maximum exertion of effort and that unity of will which we have displayed before and must display now. If we accomplish this, we shall gain no less a victory on the bloodless front than on the front of civil war. (*Applause.*)

3

REPLY TO THE DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MARCH 30

Comrades, the part of the political report of the Central Committee which evoked chief attack was the one Comrade Sapronov called vituperation. Comrade Sapronov lent a very definite character and flavour to the position he defended; and in order to show you how matters actually stand, I would like to begin by reminding you of certain basic dates. Here I have before me *Bulletin of the C.C., R.C.P.*(*B.*) for March 2 in which we printed a letter from the Central Committee to R.C.P. organisations on the subject of the organisation of the Congress. And in this first letter we said: "Happily, the time for purely theoretical discussions, disputes over general questions and the adoption of resolutions on principles has passed. That stage is over; it was dealt with and settled yesterday and the day before yesterday. We must march ahead, and we must realise that we are now confronted by a *practical task*, the *business* task of rapidly overcoming economic chaos, and we must do it with all our strength, with truly revolutionary energy, and with the same devotion with which our finest worker and peasant comrades, the Red Army men, defeated Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin."

I must confess that I was guilty of optimism in thinking that the time of theoretical discussions had passed. We had theorised for fifteen years before the revolution, we had been administering the state for two years, and it was about time we displayed practical, business-like efficiency; and so, on March 2 we appealed to comrades with practical experience.

In reply, Tomsky's theses were published in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* on March 10, the theses of Comrades Sapronov, Osinsky and Maximovsky on March 23, and on March 27 the theses of the Moscow Gubernia Committee appeared—that is, all after our appeal to the Party. And in all the theses the question was treated wrongly from the theoretical standpoint. The view we expressed in the letter was optimistic, mistaken; it had seemed to us that this period had already passed, but the theses showed that it had not yet passed, and the comrades from the trade unions have no right to complain of having been treated unfairly. The question now is, which is right—our view, or the position advocated after our appeal of March 2 by all these theses? All of them contain a lot of practical material to which attention must be given. If the Central Committee did not give it serious attention, it would be an absolutely worthless institution.

But listen to what Comrade Tomsky says.

"§7. The basic structural principle of the regulation and management of industry, the only one that can ensure the participation of broad masses of non-party workers through the trade unions, is the existing principle of corporate management of industry, from the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council down to the factory managements. Only in special cases, and by mutual agreement between the Presidiums of the Supreme Economic Council and the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council, or the Central Committees of the trade unions concerned, should one-man management be permitted in certain enterprises, but only on the obligatory condition that control be exercised over the administrators by the trade unions and their bodies.

"§8. To ensure a single plan of economic development and co-ordination of the activities of the trade unions and the economic bodies, the participation of the trade unions in the management and regulation of industry should be based on the following principles: (a) general questions of economic policy shall be discussed by the Supreme Economic Council and its organs with the participation of the trade unions; (b) the directing economic collegiums shall be formed by the Supreme Economic Council and its organs in conjunction with the relevant trade union bodies; (c) the collegiums of economic bodies, while discussing general questions of the economic policy of any branch of production in conjunction with the trade unions and furnishing them with periodical reports on their activities, shall be regarded as organs of the Supreme Economic Council only, and shall be obliged to carry out the decisions only of that body, (d) all collegiums of economic bodies shall unreservedly carry out the decisions of the higher organs of the Supreme Economic Council, individually and corporately, and be accountable for their fulfilment only to the Supreme Economic Council."

Here the most elementary theoretical questions are terribly muddled.

It is true that management is the job of the individual administrator; but who exactly that administrator will be—an expert or a worker—will depend on how many administrators we have of the old and the new type. That is elementary theory. Well, then, let us talk about that. But if you want to discuss the political line of the Central Committee, do not attribute to us things we did not suggest and did not say. On March 2 we appealed to the comrades to give us practical support, and what did we get in reply? From the comrades in the localities we got in reply things that are obviously wrong from the theoretical standpoint. The theses of Comrades Osinsky, Maximovsky and Sapronov that appeared on March 23 contain nothing but theoretical blunders. They say that corporate management in one form or another is an indispensable basis of democracy. I assert that you will find nothing like it in the fifteen years' pre-revolutionary history of the Social-Democratic movement. Democratic centralism means only that representatives from the localities get together and elect a responsible body, which is to do the administering. But how? That depends on how many suitable people, how many good administrators are available. Democratic centralism means that the congress supervises the work of the Central Committee, and can remove it and appoint another in its place. But if we were to go into the theoretical errors contained in these theses, we should never be done. I personally will not deal with this any more, and will only say that the Central Committee adopted the only line that could be adopted on this question. I know very well that Comrade Osinsky, and the others do not share the views of Makhno and Makhaisky, but Makhno's followers are bound to seize upon their arguments. They are connected with them. Take the theses of the Moscow Gubernia Committee of the Party that we have been given. It says there that in a developed socialist society, where there will be no social division of labour or fixed professions, the periodical replacement of people performing administrative functions in rotation will be possible only on the basis of a broad corporate principle, and so on and so forth. This is a sheer muddle!

We appealed to the experienced people in the localities to help us with their practical advice. Instead, we are told that the Central Committee ignores the localities. What does it ignore? Dissertations on socialist society? There is not a trace of anything practical or business-like here. Of course, we have some splendid workers, who are borrowing a lot from the intelligentsia; but sometimes they borrow the worst, not the best. Then something has to be done about it. But if in reply to an appeal of the Central Committee for practical advice you bring up questions of principle, we have to talk about those questions. We have to say that errors of principle must be combated. And the theses published since March 2 contain preposterous errors of principle.

That is what I affirm. Well, let us talk about that and argue it out. Don't try to evade it! It is no use claiming that you are not theoreticians. Pardon me, Comrade Sapronov, your theses are the theses of a theoretician. You would see if they were put into practice that you would have to turn back and settle questions in an unbusiness-like manner. Anybody who tried to take the theses of Comrades Maximovsky, Sapronov and Tomsky as practical guidance, would be profoundly mistaken; they are fundamentally wrong. I consider that their idea of the attitude of the class to the structure of the state is fundamentally wrong and would drag us back. Naturally, it is backed by all the elements who are lagging behind and have not yet got beyond all this. And the authors of these theses are to be blamed not for deliberately advocating inefficiency, but for their theoretical mistake on the question the Central Committee asked them to discuss, a mistake which in a way provides a banner, a justification, for the worst elements. And why? From want of thought. Authentic documents prove this beyond all doubt.

I now pass to the accusation made by Comrade Yurenev in connection with Comrade Shlyapnikov. If the Central Committee had removed Comrade Shlyapnikov, as a representative of the opposition, just before the Congress, that certainly would have been infamous. When we had established that Comrade Shlyapnikov was leaving, we said in the Political Bureau that we were not giving him any instructions before his departure; and on the eve of his departure Comrade Shlyapnikov came to me and said that he was not

going on the instructions of the Central Committee. And so Comrade Yurenev simply heard a rumour and is now spreading it. (*Yurenev*: "Shlyapnikov told me so himself....")

I do not know how he could have told you so himself, seeing that he came to me before he left and said that he was not going on the instructions of the Central Committee. Yes, of course, if the Central Committee had banished the opposition before the Congress that would have been an unpardonable thing. But, in general, when there is talk about banishing people, I say: "Well, then, just try to elect a Central Committee which could distribute forces properly without giving any cause for complaint." How can forces be distributed so that everybody is satisfied? If forces are not distributed, how can you talk about centralism? And if there were distortions of principles, let us have instances. If you say that we banished representatives of the opposition, give us an instance, and we shall examine it, for there may have been mistakes. Perhaps Comrade Yurenev, who complained to the Political Bureau of having been wrongfully withdrawn from the Western Front—perhaps he was banished? The Political Bureau examined the matter and found it correct. And whatever Central Committee you elected, it would have to distribute its forces.

Further, as regards the division of business between the Organising Bureau and the Political Bureau. Comrade Maximovsky is more experienced in matters of organisation than I am, and he says that Lenin is mixing Organising Bureau and Political Bureau questions. Well, let us see. In our opinion, the Organising Bureau should distribute forces and the Political Bureau deal with policy. If such a division is wrong, how are the functions of these two bodies to be divided? Do you want us to write a constitution? It is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between the Political Bureau and the Organising Bureau, to delimit their functions precisely. Any question may become a political one, even the appointment of the superintendent of a building. If anyone has any other solution to suggest, please let us have it. Comrades Sapronov, Maximovsky and Yurenev, let us have your proposals; just try to divide, to delimit the Organising Bureau and the Political Bureau. As we have it, the protest of a single member of the Central Committee is

enough for us to treat the question as a political one. Yet in all this time there has not been a single protest. Independence is not hampered in any way: any member of the Central Committee may declare a question to be a political one. And anybody who has any practical experience in organisation, even if he is not as competent as Comrade Maximovsky, even if he has worked in this field only six months, ought to have made a different sort of criticism from the one Comrade Maximovsky made. Let the critics make definite recommendations. We shall accept them, and advise the election of a new Central Committee, which will carry out these recommendations. But all we have had is abstract criticism and false assertions.

Let us suppose you keep the Organising Bureau away from political leadership. What, then, I ask, will political leadership amount to? Who does the leading, if not people? And how can you lead except by distributing forces? How can you compel a man to carry out instructions if he is incompetent? He is given certain instructions, his work is checked, and finally he is put on another job. What more must we do to bring this home to Comrades Maximovsky, Sapronov and Osinsky, who in their theses propose a theoretical amendment that was rejected long ago? What they are doing in practice is even worse, and they are making it quite clear that they have no material for serious criticism.

I heard one practical point in Comrade Sapronov's speech and jumped at it. Comrade Sapronov said: "The Seventh Congress of Soviets gave a ruling, and we are violating it; the decree on requisitioning flax is an infringement of the decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee." I cannot remember even a tenth of the decrees we pass. But I made inquiries in the Secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars about the regulations governing flax procurements. The decree was passed on February 10. And what has happened? There is not a comrade, whether on the Political Bureau or on the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, who is opposed to independent initiative. We have seen them all here on this platform. Comrades know that they can speak for themselves. Why did they not appeal against this decision? Let us have your complaints! There was no such complaint after February 10. After a long fight,

we adopted this decision, which was proposed by Comrade Rykov and agreed to by Comrade Sereda and the People's Commissariat of Food. "You have made a mistake!" we are told. Perhaps we have. Correct us. Submit this question to the Political Bureau. That will be a formal decision. Let us have the minutes. If they show that we have violated a decision of the Congress, we ought to be put on trial. Where is the charge? On the one hand, they reproach us on account of Shlyapnikov; on the other, they say that the flax business was a violation of a decision. Be good enough to bring facts to show that we violated the decision. But you do not bring any facts. All your words are mere words: initiative, appointments, and so on. Why then have centralism? Could we have held out for even two months if we had made no appointments during this period, during these two years when in various places we passed from complete exhaustion and disruption to victory again? Just because you are displeased with the recall of Comrade Shlyapnikov or Comrade Yurenev, you fling these words among the crowd, among the unenlightened masses. Comrade Lutovinov says that the question has not been settled. It will have to be settled. If two people's commissars differ in their opinion of Ivan Ivanovich, and one says that a question of policy is involved, what is to be done? What method do you propose? Do you think that it is only in the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee that tedious questions arise? Let me tell you that there is not a single institution where tedious questions do not arise, and we all have to deal with questions of Maria Ivanovna and Sidor Ivanovich. But you cannot say that no politics are involved here, for politics fill all minds. Comrade Lutovinov had—I do not know how to put it; I fear to offend Comrade Sapronov's delicate ear and I shrink from using a polemical expression—but he said that Comrade Krestinsky threatened to bring about a split. A meeting of the Bureau was held on the subject. We have the minutes of the Bureau, and I would ask all the Congress delegates to take these minutes and read them. We came to the conclusion that Comrade Krestinsky was hot-headed and that you, Comrade Lutovinov and Comrade Tomsky, had raised a very malodorous scandal. Perhaps we were wrong—then correct our decision; but it is preposterous to say what

you said, without having read the documents and without mentioning that there was a special meeting and that the matter was investigated in the presence of Tomsky and Lutovinov.

There are two other points I still have to deal with. First, the appointment of Comrades Bukharin and Radek. It is said that we sent them to the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council as political commissars, and the attempt is being made here to represent this as a violation of independence, as bureaucracy. Perhaps you know better theoreticians than Radek and Bukharin. Then by all means let us have them. Perhaps you know people better acquainted with the trade union movement. Let us have them. Do you mean to say that the Central Committee has no right to reinforce a trade union with people who have the best theoretical knowledge of the trade union movement, who are acquainted with the experience of the Germans, and who can counteract an incorrect line? A Central Committee which did not do that could not be a directing body. The more we are surrounded by peasants and Kuban Cossacks the more difficulties we have with the proletarian dictatorship. Therefore the line must be straightened out at all costs and made as hard as steel, and this is the line we recommend to the Party Congress.

Comrade Bubnov told us here that he has close connections with the Ukraine and thereby betrayed the true character of his objections. He said that the Central Committee is responsible for the growing strength of the *Borotba* Party. This is a very complex and important issue, and I think in this important issue, which demanded manoeuvring, and very complex manoeuvring at that, we emerged victorious. When we said in the Central Committee that the maximum concessions should be made to the Borotbists, we were laughed at and told that we were not following a straight line. But you can fight in a straight line when the enemy's line is straight. But when the enemy moves in zigzags, and not in a straight line, we have to follow him and catch him at every turn. We promised the maximum concessions to the Borotbists, but on condition that they pursued a communist policy. In this way we showed that we are in no way intolerant. And that these concessions were made quite rightly

is shown by the fact that all the best elements among the Borotbists have now joined our Party. We have carried out a re-registration of this party, and instead of a revolt of the Borotbists, which seemed inevitable, we find that, thanks to the correct policy of the Central Committee, which was carried out so splendidly by Comrade Rakovsky, all the best elements among the Borotbists have joined our Party under our control and with our recognition, while all the rest have disappeared from the political scene. This victory was worth a couple of good tussles. So anybody who says that the Central Committee is guilty of strengthening the Borotbists does not understand the political line on the national question.

I shall just touch on the speech of the last comrade, who said that everything in the programme about the trade unions should be deleted. There you have an example of hastiness. We don't do things so simply. We say that nothing should be deleted, that the question should be discussed in pamphlets, articles in the press, and so on. The trade unions are heading for the time when they will take economic life, namely industry, into their hands. The talk about not admitting bourgeois specialists into the trade unions is a prejudice. The trade unions are educational bodies, and strict demands must be made on them. The Central Committee will not tolerate bad educators. Education is a long and difficult business. A decree is not enough here; patient and skilful handling is required. And that is what we are aiming at and will continue to aim at. It is a matter in which we must be cautious but firm.

4

SPEECH ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
MARCH 31

Comrades, first two brief remarks. Comrade Sapronov continued to accuse me of forgetfulness, but the question he raised he left unexplained. He continued to assure us that the flax requisitioning decree is a violation of the decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. I maintain that you cannot hurl unsupported accusations, very serious accusations, at a Party Congress in that way. Of course, if the Council of People's Commissars has violated a decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee it should be put on trial. But how is it that from February 10 to this day no complaint has been received that this decree is a violation? All we get is an absolutely unsupported accusation of the sort that are handed out easily enough, but such methods of fighting are not to be taken seriously.

Comrade Milyutin says that there are practically no points of difference between us, and that therefore it looks as if Lenin opposes squabbling and himself provokes this squabble. But Comrade Milyutin is distorting things somewhat, which he ought not to do. The first draft of the resolution, compiled by Comrade Trotsky, was then edited corporately in the Central Committee. We sent this draft to Comrades Milyutin and Rykov. They returned it with the statement that they would give battle on it. This is what actually happened. After we had developed agitation and obtained allies, they organised an all-round opposition at the Congress; and it was only when they saw that nothing would come of it that they began to say they were almost in agreement. That is so, of course; but you must carry it

through to the end and admit that your agreement means that you failed completely after the opposition came forward here and tried to consolidate itself on the issue of corporate management. Only after Comrade Milyutin had spoken for fifteen minutes, and his time was up, did it occur to him that it would be well to put the matter on a practical footing. He was quite right there. But I am afraid it is too late: although Comrade Rykov has still to close the discussion, the opposition cannot be saved. If the advocates of corporate management had during the past two months practised what they preached, if they had given us even a single example—not by saying there is a certain director and an assistant, but by an inquiry promoting a detailed investigation of the problem, comparing corporate management with individual management as was decided by the Congress of Economic Councils and by the Central Committee—we would have been much the wiser; at the Congress we would then have had something more than not very relevant discussions of principle, and the advocates of corporate management might have furthered matters. Their position would have been a strong one if they could have produced even ten factories with similar conditions managed on the corporate principle and compared them in a practical manner with the state of affairs in factories with similar conditions, but managed on the individual principle. We could have allowed any speaker an hour for such a report, and he would have furthered matters considerably. We might perhaps have established practical gradations in this question of corporate management. But the whole point is that none of them, neither the Economic Council members nor the trade unionists, who should have had practical data at their disposal, gave us anything, because they had nothing to give. They have nothing, absolutely nothing!

Comrade Rykov objected here that I want to remake the French Revolution, that I deny that the bourgeoisie grew up within the feudal system. That is not what I said. What I said was that when the bourgeoisie replaced the feudal system they took the feudal lords and learned from them how to administer; and this in no way contradicts the fact that the bourgeoisie grew up within the feudal system. And as for my thesis that, after it has seized power, the working

class begins to put its principles into effect, nobody, absolutely nobody, has refuted it. After it has seized power, the working class maintains it, preserves it and consolidates it as every other class does, namely, by a change of property relations and by a new constitution. That is my first and fundamental thesis; and it is incontrovertible. My second thesis that every new class learns from its predecessor and takes over administrators from the old class, is also an absolute truth. And, lastly, my third thesis is that the working class must increase the number of administrators from its own ranks, establish schools, and train executives on a nation-wide scale. These three theses are indisputable, and they fundamentally contradict the theses of the trade unions.

At the meeting of the group, when we examined their theses, and when Comrade Bukharin and I were defeated,[145] I told Comrade Tomsky that article 7 in the theses is the result of complete theoretical confusion. It says:

> "The basic structural principle of the regulation and management of industry, the only one that can ensure the participation of broad masses of non-party workers through the trade unions, is the existing principle of corporate management of industry, from the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council down to the factory managements. Only in special cases, and by mutual agreement between the Presidiums of the Supreme Economic Council and the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council, or the Central Committees of the trade unions concerned should one-man management be permitted in certain enterprises but only on the obligatory condition that control be exercised over the administrators by the trade unions and their bodies."

This is sheer nonsense, because everything—the role of the working class in winning state power, the interrelation of methods—everything is muddled! Such things cannot be tolerated. Such things drag us back theoretically. The same must be said of the democratic centralism of Comrades Sapronov, Maximovsky and Osinsky. Comrade Osinsky forgets that when he comes forward and claims that I call democratic centralism nonsense. You cannot distort things in that way! What has the question of appointments, of endorsement by local organisations, got to do with it? You can have things endorsed by collegiums and you can also appoint collegiums. That has nothing to do with the case. They say that democratic centralism consists not only in the

All-Russia Central Executive Committee ruling; but in the All-Russia Central Executive Committee ruling through the local organisations. What has corporate management or individual management got to do with it?

Comrade Trotsky recalled his report made in 1918 and, reading the speech he then made, pointed out that at that time not only did we argue about fundamental questions but a definite decision was taken by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. I dug up my old pamphlet *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, which I had completely forgotten, and find that the question of individual management was not only raised but even approved in the theses of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. We work in such a way that we forget not only what we ourselves have written but even what has been decided by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, and subsequently dig up these decisions. Here are some passages from this pamphlet.

"Those who deliberately (although most of them probably do not realise it) promote petty-bourgeois laxity would like to see in this granting of 'unlimited' (i.e., dictatorial) powers to individuals a departure from the collegiate principle, from democracy and from the principles of Soviet government. Here and there, among Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, a positively hooligan agitation, i.e., agitation appealing to the base instincts and to the small proprietor's urge to 'grab all he can', has been developed against the dictatorship decree...."[146]

"Large-scale machine industry—which is precisely the material source, the productive source, the foundation of socialism—calls for absolute and strict *unity of will*, which directs the joint labours of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of people. The technical, economic and historical necessity of this is obvious, and all those who have thought about socialism have always regarded it as one of the conditions of socialism" ... this is the only way in which "strict unity of will can be ensured....

"But be that as it may, *unquestioning subordination* to a single will is absolutely necessary for the success of processes organised on the pattern of large-scale machine industry. On the railways it is twice and three times as necessary....

"And our whole task, the task of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the class-conscious vehicle of the strivings of the exploited for emancipation, is to appreciate this change, to understand that it is necessary, to stand at the head of the exhausted people who are wearily seeking a way out and lead them along the true path, along the path of labour discipline, along the path of co-ordinating the task of arguing at mass meetings *about* the conditions of work with the task of unquestioningly obeying the will of the Soviet leader, of the dictator, *during* the work....

"It required precisely the October victory of the working people over the exploiters, it required a whole historical period in which the working people themselves could first of all discuss the new conditions of life and the new tasks, in order to make possible the durable transition to superior forms of labour discipline, to the conscious appreciation of the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat, to unquestioning obedience to the orders of individual representatives of the Soviet government during the work....

"We must learn to combine the 'public meeting' democracy of the working people—turbulent, surging, overflowing its banks like a spring nood with *iron* discipline while at work, with *unquestioning obedience* to the will of a single person, the Soviet leader, while at work."

On April 29, 1918, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution fully endorsing the basic propositions set forth in this report and instructed its Presidium to recast them as theses representing the principal tasks of the Soviet government. We are thus reiterating what was approved two years ago in an official resolution of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee! And we are now being dragged back on a matter that was decided long ago, a matter which the All-Russia Central Executive Committee endorsed and explained, namely, that Soviet socialist democracy and individual management and dictatorship are in no way contradictory, and that the will of a class may sometimes be carried out by a dictator, who sometimes does more alone and is frequently more necessary. At any rate, the attitude towards the principles of corporate management and individual management was not only explained long ago, but was even endorsed by the All-Russia Central Executive

Committee. In this connection our Congress is an illustration of the sad truth that instead of advancing from the explanation of questions of principle to concrete questions, we are advancing backward. Unless we get away from this mistake we shall never solve the economic problem.

I should also like to say a few words about certain remarks of Comrade Rykov's. He asserts that the Council of People's Commissars is putting obstacles in the way of the amalgamation of the commissariats running the economy. And when Comrade Rykov is told that he wants to swallow up Comrade Tsyurupa, he replies, "I don't care if it is Tsyurupa that swallows me up, as long as the economic commissariats are amalgamated." I know where this leads, and I must say that the attempt of the Supreme Economic Council to form a sort of separate bloc of the economic commissariats, separate from the Council of Defence and the Council of People's Commissars, did not pass unnoticed by the Central Committee, and met with disfavour. The Council of Defence has now been renamed the Council of Labour and Defence. You want to separate yourselves from the Commissariat of the Army, which is giving its best forces to the war and is an institution without which you cannot even carry out labour conscription. And we cannot carry out labour conscription without the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs either. Take the post office; we cannot send a letter without the Commissariat of Posts and Telegraphs. Take the People's Commissariat of Health. How will you conduct the economy if seventy per cent are down with typhus? What it amounts to is that every matter must be co-ordinated and referred to an economic commissariat. Is not such a plan absolutely absurd? Comrade Rykov had no serious argument. That is why it was opposed and the Central Committee did not support it.

Further, Comrade Rykov joked about a bloc with Comrade Holtzmann, which Comrade Trotsky seems to be forming. I should like to say a few words on this. A bloc is always needed between Party groups that are in the right. That should always be regarded as an essential condition for a correct policy. If Comrade Holtzmann, whom, I regret to say, I know very little, but of whom I have heard as a representative of a certain trend among the metalworkers, a trend that

particularly insists on sensible methods—which I stress in my theses, too—if it, is on these grounds that he insists on individual management, that, of course, can only be extremely useful. A bloc with this trend would be an exceedingly good thing. If the representation of the trade unions on the Central Committee is to be increased, it would be useful to have on it representatives of this trend too—though it may be wrong on certain points, it is at least original and has a definite shade of opinion of its own—side by side with the extremist champions of corporate management who are battling in the name of democracy but who are mistaken. Let them both be represented on the Central Committee—and you will have a bloc. Let the Central Committee be so constituted that, with the help of a bloc, a field of operation may be found that functions all the year round, and not only during the week a Party Congress is held. We have always rejected the principle of regional representation, because it leads to a lot of regional cliquism. When it is a question of closer fusion with the trade unions, of being alive to every shade of opinion in the trade unions, of maintaining contacts—it is essential for the Central Committee to be constituted in such a way as to have a transmission belt to the broad masses of the trade unions (we have 600,000 Party members and 3,000,000 trade union members) to connect the Central Committee simultaneously with the united will of the 600,000 Party members and the 3,000,000 trade union members. We cannot govern without such a transmission belt. The more we won back of Siberia, the Kuban area and the Ukraine, with their peasant population, the more difficult the problem became, and the more laboriously the machine revolved, because in Siberia the proletariat is numerically small, and it is weaker in the Ukraine too. But we know that the Donets Basin and Nikolayev workers have bluntly refused to defend the semi-demagogic corporate principle into which Comrade Sapronov has lapsed. There can be no question but that the proletarian element in the Ukraine differs from the proletarian element in Petrograd, Moscow and Ivanovo-Voznesensk—not because it is no good, but for purely historical reasons. They did not have occasion to become, so steeled by hunger, cold and strife as the proletarians of Moscow and Petrograd. We therefore need such a bond with the trade

unions, such a form of organisation of the Central Committee, as would enable it to know every shade of opinion, not only among the 600,000 Party members, but also among the 3,000,000 trade union members, so that it may be able at any moment to lead them all as one man! Such an organisation is essential. That is the basic factor, the political factor without which the dictatorship of the proletariat will not be a dictatorship. If we are to have a bloc, let it be a real bloc! We should not be afraid of it, but should welcome it and practise it more vigorously and more extensively right in the central institutions of the Party.

5

SPEECH ON THE CO-OPERATIVES[147]
APRIL 3

It was only last night and today that I have had an opportunity of partially acquainting myself with the two resolutions. I think that the resolution of the minority of the commission is the more correct. Comrade Milyutin attacked it with a great battery of terrifying words: he discovered half-measures in it, even quarter-measures; he accused it of opportunism. But it seems to me that the devil is not as black as he is painted. If you get down to the root of the matter you will see that Comrade Milyutin, who tried to give the matter a basis in principle, showed by his own arguments that the resolution he advocated was incorrect and unsuitable specifically from the standpoint of practice and of Marxism. It is incorrect for the following reasons; Milyutin stated that his resolution, the resolution of the majority of the commission, advocated fusion with the volost executive committees, subordination to the volost executive committees, and that is why he sees in his resolution directness and decisiveness as compared with the insufficiently revolutionary character of the minority resolution. During the long course of our revolutionary campaign we have seen that whenever we made proper preparations for our revolutionary actions they were crowned with success; but that when they were merely imbued with revolutionary fervour they ended in failure.

What does the resolution of the minority of the commission say? The resolution of the minority says: direct your attention to intensifying communist work in the consumers' societies and to securing a majority within them; first make

ready the organs to which you want to hand them over, then you can hand them over. Compare this with the line pursued by Milyutin. He says: the co-operatives are no good, therefore hand them over to the volost executive committees. But have you a communist basis in the co-operatives you want to hand over? The essence of the matter—preparation—is ignored; only the ultimate slogan is given. If this communist work has been done, and organs have been set up to take them over and guide them, the transfer is quite natural, and there is no need to proclaim it at a Party congress. But have you not been threatening the peasants enough? Has not the Supreme Economic Council shaken its fist enough at the peasants and the co-operatives in the matter of the flax procurement? If you recall the practical experience of our work in the localities and in the Council of People's Commissars, you will admit that this is a wrong attitude to take, and that the right resolution is the one which declares that the work of communist education and the training of executives are necessary, for otherwise the transfer will be impossible.

The second question of cardinal importance is that of contacts with the consumers' co-operatives. Here Comrade Milyutin says something utterly inconsistent. If the consumers' co-operatives are not fulfilling all their assignments—which is what we have been saying for two years in a number of decrees directed against the kulaks—it must be remembered that government measures against the kulaks can also be applied against the co-operative societies. And this is being done in full. The most important thing at the moment is to increase production and the quantity of goods. If the consumers' co-operatives do not get this done, they will be punished for it. But if, owing to their connection with the producers' co-operatives, they give even a small increase of products, we must welcome it and foster the initiative. If the consumers' co-operatives, in spite of their closer, intimate local connections with production, do not show an increase, it will mean that they have not fulfilled the direct assignment of the Soviet government. If there are even two or three energetic comrades in a district who are prepared to combat the kulaks and the bourgeoisie, victory is assured. In what way was Comrade Chuchin's initiative thwarted? He did not cite a single instance. But the idea

that we must link up the producers' co-operatives with the consumers' co-operatives and agree to any concession that may increase the amount of products in the near future follows logically from our experience of the past two years. It in no way hampers either communist functionaries or Soviet officials in their war on the kulak co-operative, the bourgeois type of co-operative. Far from hampering them, it provides them with a new weapon. If you succeed in organising anything at all we shall give you a bonus; but if you do not fulfil this assignment we shall punish you, not only because you are counter-revolutionary—we have the Cheka for that, as was rightly pointed out here—no, we shall punish you for not fulfilling the assignment of the state, of the Soviet government and the proletariat.

Comrade Milyutin has not produced a single sound argument against amalgamating the consumers' co-operatives—all he said was that this seemed to him to be opportunism or a half-measure. This is strange coming from Comrade Milyutin, who, with Comrade Rykov, was prepared to make big strides, but discovered that he cannot even make a tenth of one stride. From this aspect, connections with the consumers' co-operatives will be an advantage; they will make it possible to tackle production immediately. All means are available to prevent interference in political matters; and as to obedience in the production and economic sphere, that depends entirely on the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the Supreme Economic Council. These means are adequate for you to be able to control the co-operatives.

I now come to the third question, the question of nationalisation, which Milyutin advocated in a way that was strange to hear. A commission was set up. Comrade Krestinsky was in a minority on the commission and Comrade Milyutin was the victor. But now he says: "On the question of nationalisation I am prepared not to argue." Then what was the commission arguing about? If your standpoint is the same as Comrade Chuchin's you are wrong in renouncing nationalisation. It has been asked here why, if the capitalists have been nationalised, the kulaks cannot be nationalised too. It is not surprising that this argument evoked hilarity. For however you count the well-to-do peasants, those who exploit the labour of others, you will find there are no less

than half a million, perhaps even something like a million. How do you propose to nationalise them? It is fantastic. We have not the means for that as yet.

Comrade Chuchin is quite right when he says that there are a lot of counter-revolutionaries in the co-operatives. But that is a horse of another colour. What was said about the Cheka was quite in place here. If you are too short-sighted to expose individual leaders of the co-operatives, then just install one Communist to detect the counter-revolution; if he is a good Communist—and a good Communist has the qualities of a good member of the Cheka—he should, when assigned to a consumers' society, bag at least two counter-revolutionary co-operators.

That is why Comrade Chuchin is wrong when he advocates immediate nationalisation. It would be a good thing, but it is impossible, for we are dealing with a class which is least susceptible to our influence and which certainly cannot be nationalised. We have not even nationalised all the industrial enterprises. By the time an order of the chief administrations and central boards reaches the localities it becomes absolutely ineffective; it is completely lost in a sea of documents, because of lack of roads and telegraph, etc. It is therefore impossible to speak of the nationalisation of the co-operatives as yet. Comrade Milyutin is wrong in principle too. He feels that his position is weak and thinks that he can simply withdraw this point. But in that case, Comrade Milyutin, you are undermining your own resolution, you are issuing a certificate to the effect that the resolution of the minority is right; for the spirit of your resolution—to subordinate them to the volost executive committees (that is exactly what is said in the first clause—"take measures")—is a Cheka spirit, wrongly introduced into an economic issue. The other resolution says that the first thing to do is to increase the number of Communists, to intensify communist propaganda and agitation—that a basis must be created. There is nothing grandiloquent here, no immediate promises of a land flowing with milk and honey. But if there are Communists in the localities, they will know what has to be done, and there will be no need for Comrade Chuchin to explain where counter-revolutionaries should be taken to. Secondly, an organ must be created. Create an

organ and test it in action, check whether production is increasing—that is what the resolution of the minority says. First of all create a basis, and then—then we shall see. What has to be done will follow from this of itself. We have enough decrees saying that counter-revolutionaries should be handed over to the Cheka, and if there is no Cheka, to the Revolutionary Committee. We need less of this fist-shaking. We must adopt the resolution of the minority, which lays down a basic line of policy.

6

SPEECH CLOSING THE CONGRESS
APRIL 5

Comrades, in making a brief summary of the work of our Congress we must, in my opinion, first of all dwell upon the tasks of our Party. The Congress has adopted a detailed resolution on the question of organisation, and as might have been expected, a very important place in that resolution is occupied by the question of the education, the training, the organisational deployment of the members of our Party. The Credentials Committee has reported that over 600,000 members of our Party are represented at this Congress. We are all fully aware of the tremendous difficulties the Party has had to cope with in these strenuous times, when measures had to be taken to prevent the worst elements, the offal of the old capitalist system, from seeping into the government party, from fastening themselves on to it—t is naturally an open party, for it is the government party, and as such opens the way to power. One of these measures was the institution of Party Weeks. Under such conditions, at such moments, when the Party and the movement were in exceptionally trying situations, when Denikin stood north of Orel, and Yudenich within fifty versts of Petrograd, it was only people who were sincerely devoted to the cause of the emancipation of the working people who could have joined the Party.

Such conditions will not occur again, at least not in the near future, and it must be said that the huge membership (as compared with previous congresses) our Party has attained gives rise to a certain apprehension. And there is one very real danger, which is that the rapid growth of our

Party has not always been commensurate with the extent to which we have educated this mass of people for the performance of the tasks of the moment. We must always bear in mind that this army of 600,000 must be the vanguard of the working class, and that we should scarcely have been able to carry out our tasks during these two years if it had not been for iron discipline. The basic condition for the maintenance and continuance of strict discipline is loyalty; all the old means and sources of discipline have ceased to exist, and we base our activities solely on a high degree of understanding and political consciousness. This has enabled us to achieve a discipline which is superior to that of any other state and which rests on a basis different from that of the discipline which is being maintained with difficulty, if it can be maintained at all, in capitalist society. We must therefore remember that our task in the coming year, after the brilliant successes achieved in the war, is not so much the growth of the Party as work inside the Party, the education of the membership of our Party. It is not for nothing that our resolutions on organisation devote as much space as possible to this question.

We must spare no effort to make this vanguard of the proletariat, this army of 600,000 members, capable of coping with the tasks that confront it. And it is confronted by tasks of gigantic international and internal importance. As to the international tasks, our international position has never been as good as it is now. News about the life of the workers abroad seldom reaches us, yet every time you receive a couple of letters or a few issues of European or American working-class socialist newspapers you experience real pleasure, because everywhere, in all parts of the world, you see among masses formerly entirely untouched by propaganda, or steeped in wretched opportunism, in purely parliamentary socialism, a tremendous growth of interest in the Soviet power, in the new tasks, a growth much greater than we imagine; everywhere you see intense revolutionary movement, ferment, and revolution has become a current issue.

I had occasion yesterday to glance through an issue of the newspaper of the British Socialist Labour Party. The British workers, whose leaders were intellectuals and who for decades were distinguished by their contempt for theory,

are talking in quite definite tones; and the paper shows that the British workers are now taking an interest in the question of revolution, that there is a growing interest in the fight against revisionism, opportunism, and parliamentary socialism, the social-treachery we have got to know so well. This struggle is becoming an issue of the day. We can say quite definitely that our American Comrade R., who has published a voluminous book containing a number of articles by Trotsky and myself, thus giving a summary of the history of the Russian revolution, was quite right when he said that the French Revolution was victorious on a world-wide scale, and that, if it was directly crushed, it was only because it was surrounded on the European continent by more backward countries, in which a movement of emulation, sympathy and support could not immediately arise. The Russian revolution, which, owing to the yoke of tsarism and a number of other factors (continuity with 1905, etc.), started before the others, is surrounded by countries which are on a higher level of capitalist development and are approaching the revolution more slowly, but more surely, durably and firmly. We find that with every year, and even with every month, the number of supporters and friends of the Soviet Republic is increasing tenfold, a hundredfold, a thousandfold in every capitalist country; and it must be said that we have more friends and allies than we imagine!

The attempt of world imperialism to crush us by military force has collapsed completely. The international situation has now given us a much longer and more durable respite than the one we had at the beginning of the revolution. But we must remember that this is nothing more than a respite. We must remember that the whole capitalist world is armed to the teeth and is only waiting for the moment, choosing the best strategical conditions, and studying the means of attack. We must never under any circumstances forget that all the economic power and all the military power is still on its side. We are still weak on an international scale, but we are rapidly growing and gaining strength, wresting one weapon after another from the hands of the enemy. But the enemy is lurking in wait for the Soviet Republic at every step. International capital has definite designs, a calculated plan, now that the blockade has been removed,

to unite, to fuse, to weld together international food speculation, international freedom of trade, with our own internal food speculation, and on the basis of this speculation to pave the way for a new war against us, to prepare a new series of traps and pitfalls.

And this brings us to that fundamental task which constituted the chief theme, the chief object of attention of our Congress. That is the task of development. In this respect the Congress has done a lot. A resolution has been unanimously adopted on the principal question, the question of economic development and transport. And now, by means of Party education, we shall be able to get this resolution carried into effect by the three million working-class members of the trade unions, acting as one man. We shall ensure that this resolution channels all our strength, discipline and energy to the restoration of the country's economic life—first of all to the restoration of the railways, and then to the improvement of the food situation.

We have now quite a number of subjects for propaganda, and every item of news we get from abroad and every new dozen members of the Party provide us with fresh material. Propaganda must be carried on systematically, without the dispersion and division of forces. We must bear firmly in mind that we achieved successes and performed miracles in the military sphere because we always concentrated on the main and fundamental thing, and solved problems in a way that capitalist society could not solve them. The point is that in capitalist society everything that particularly interests the citizens—their economic conditions, war and peace—is decided secretly, apart from society itself. The most important questions—war, peace, diplomatic questions—are decided by a small handful of capitalists, who deceive not only the masses, but very often parliament itself. No parliament in the world has ever said anything of weight on the question of war and peace. In capitalist society the major questions affecting the economic life of the working people—whether they are to live in starvation or in comfort—are decided by the capitalist—who is the lord, a god! In all capitalist countries, including the democratic republics, the attention of the people is diverted at such times by the corrupt bourgeois press, which wears the label of freedom of

speech, and which will invent and circulate anything to fool and deceive the masses. In our country, on the other hand, the whole apparatus of state power, the whole attention of the class-conscious worker have been entirely and exclusively centred on the major and cardinal issue, on the chief task. We have made gigantic progress in this way in the military sphere, and we must now apply our experience to the economic sphere.

We are effecting the transition to socialism, and the most urgent question—bread and work—is not a private question, not the private affair of an employer, but the affair of the whole of society, and any peasant who thinks at all must definitely realise and understand that if the government raises the question of the railways in its whole press, in every article, in every newspaper issue, it is because it is the common affair of all. This work to develop the country will lead the peasant out of the blindness and ignorance that doomed him to slavery; it will lead him to real liberty, to a state of affairs in which the working folk will be aware of all the difficulties that confront them and will direct all the forces of public organisation, all the forces of the state apparatus, all the forces of agitation to the simplest and most essential things, rejecting all the tinsel and trimmings, all the playing at resolutions and the artful promises which form the subject of the newspaper agitation of all capitalist countries. All our forces, all our attention must be centred on these simple economic tasks, which are clear to every peasant, to which the middle, even the well-to-do, peasant, if he is at all honest, cannot object, and which we are always absolutely right in raising at every meeting. Even the masses of the least politically-conscious workers and peasants will confirm that the chief thing at the moment is to restore the economy in a way that will prevent it from falling again into the hands of the exploiters and will not offer the slightest indulgence to those who, having a surplus of grain in a starving country, use it to enrich themselves and to make the poor starve. You will not find a single man, however ignorant and unenlightened, who does not have the feeling that this is unjust, to whom the idea has not occurred, vague and unclear perhaps, that the arguments of the supporters of the Soviet government fully accord with the interests of the working people.

It is to these simple tasks, which in the big capitalist societies are kept in the background and are regarded as the private affair of the bosses, that we must direct the attention of the whole army of 600,000 Party members, among whom we must not tolerate a single one who does not do his duty; and for the sake of this we must get the whole mass of the workers to join us and to display the greatest self-sacrifice and devotion. It will be difficult to organise this, but since, from the point of view of the working people it is just, it has tremendous moral weight and immense power of conviction. And so, confident that, thanks to the work of the Congress, this task can now be accomplished as brilliantly as we accomplished the military task (although again at the price of a number of defeats and mistakes), we may say that the workers of all European and American countries are now looking towards us, looking with expectancy to see whether we shall accomplish the more difficult task confronting us—for it is more difficult than the achievement of military victory. It cannot be accomplished by enthusiasm, by self-sacrifice and heroic fervour alone. In this work of organisation, in which we Russians have been weaker than others, in this work of self-discipline, in this work of rejecting the incidental and striving for the main thing, nothing can be done in a hurry. And in this sphere of requisitioning grain, repairing the railways, restoring the economy, where progress is made only inch by inch, where the ground is being prepared, and where what is being done is perhaps little, but is durable—in this work, the eyes of the workers of all countries are upon us, they expect new victories of us. I am convinced that, guided by the decisions of our Congress, with the 600,000 members of the Party working like one man, and establishing closer ties with the economic bodies and the trade union bodies, we shall accomplish this task as successfully as we accomplished the military task, and shall march swiftly and surely towards the victory of the World Socialist Soviet Republic! (*Applause.*)

ON COMPROMISES[148]

In a talk with me, Comrade Lansbury laid particular stress on the following argument of the British opportunist leaders in the labour movement.

> The Bolsheviks are compromising with the capitalists, agreeing, in the Peace Treaty with Estonia, for instance, to timber concessions; if that is the case, compromises with capitalists concluded by the moderate leaders of the British labour movement are equally legitimate.

Comrade Lansbury considers this argument, very widespread in Britain, of importance to the workers and urgently requiring examination.

I shall try to meet this desire.

I

May an advocate of proletarian revolution conclude compromises with capitalists or with the capitalist class?

This, apparently, is the question underlying the above argument. But to present it in this general way shows either the extreme political inexperience and low level of political consciousness of the questioner, or his chicanery in using a sophism to veil his justification of brigandage, plunder and every other sort of capitalist violence.

Indeed, it would obviously be silly to give a negative reply to this general question. Of course, an advocate of proletarian revolution may conclude compromises or agreements with capitalists. It all depends on *what kind* of agreement is concluded and *under what circumstances*. Here and

here alone can and must one look for the difference between an agreement that is legitimate from the angle of the proletarian revolution and one that is treasonable, treacherous (from the same angle).

To make this clear I shall first recall the argument of the founders of Marxism and then add some very simple and obvious examples.

It is not for nothing that Marx and Engels are considered the founders of scientific socialism. They were ruthless enemies of all phrase-mongering. They taught that problems of socialism (including problems of socialist tactics) must be presented scientifically. In the seventies of last century, when Engels analysed the revolutionary manifesto of the French Blanquists, Commune fugitives, he told them in plain terms that their boastful declaration of "no compromise" was an empty phrase.[149] The idea of compromises must not be renounced. The point is through all the compromises which are sometimes necessarily imposed by force of circumstance upon even the most revolutionary party of even the most revolutionary class, to be able to preserve, strengthen, steel and develop the revolutionary tactics and organisation, the revolutionary consciousness, determination and preparedness of the working class and its organised vanguard, the Communist Party.

Anybody acquainted with the fundamentals of Marx's teachings must inevitably draw this conclusion from the totality of those teachings. But since in Britain, due to a number of historical causes, Marxism has ever since Chartism[150] (which in many respects was something preparatory to Marxism, the "last word but one" before Marxism) been pushed into the background by the opportunist, semi-bourgeois leaders of the trade unions and co-operatives, I shall try to explain the truth of the view expounded by means of typical examples drawn from among the universally-known facts of ordinary, political, and economic life.

I shall begin with an illustration I gave once before in one of my speeches. Let us suppose the car you are travelling in is attacked by armed bandits. Let us suppose that when a pistol is put to your temple you surrender your car, money and revolver to the bandits, who proceed to use this car, etc., to commit other robberies.

Here is undoubtedly a case of compromising with highwaymen, of agreement with them. The agreement, though unsigned and tacitly concluded, is nevertheless quite a definite and precise one: "I give you, Mr. Robber, my car, weapon and money; you rid me of your pleasant company."

The question arises: do you call the man who concluded such an agreement with highwaymen an *accomplice* in banditry, an *accomplice* in a robbers' assault upon third persons despoiled by the bandits with the aid of the car, money and weapon received by them from the person who concluded this agreement?

No, you do not.

The matter is absolutely plain and simple, down to the smallest detail.

And it is likewise clear that under other circumstances the tacit surrender to the highwaymen of the car, money and weapon would be considered by every person of common sense to be complicity in banditry.

The conclusion is clear: it is just as silly to renounce the idea of literally all agreements or compromises with robbers as it is to acquit a person of complicity in banditry on the basis of the abstract proposition that, generally speaking, agreements with robbers are sometimes permissible and necessary.

Let us now take a political illustration....

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TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

April 2, 1920

Orjonikidze,

Revolutionary Military Council,
Caucasian Front

Again urge you to display caution and maximum good will towards the Moslems, especially on advancing into Daghestan. Do everything to demonstrate, and in the most emphatic manner, our sympathy for the Moslems, their autonomy, independence, etc. Give me more precise and more frequent information on how things stand.

Lenin

First published in 1942

Published according to a typewritten copy

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST (INAUGURAL) ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF MINEWORKERS[151]

Comrades, allow me first of all to convey the greetings of the Council of People's Commissars to the First Congress of Mineworkers.

Comrades, this Congress and this whole branch of industry are of the highest importance to the Soviet Republic. You all know, of course, that without the coal industry there would be no modern industry, no factories. Coal is the veritable bread of industry; without it industry comes to a standstill; without it the railways are in a sorry state and can never be restored; without it the large-scale industry of all countries would collapse, fall to pieces and revert to primitive barbarity; today the coal shortage and crisis are having the most dire effects even in the victor countries, even in countries far more advanced than Russia and which have suffered far less in the war. It is, therefore, all the more necessary to us that you, comrades, who have assembled to form a solid, strong, powerful and class-conscious union of mineworkers, should clearly realise the tremendous tasks with which the entire Soviet Republic, the workers' and peasants' government confront this Congress, confront the mineworkers. After two years of desperate struggle against the whiteguards and capitalists, who were supported by the capitalists of the whole world, today, after all the victories we have won, we are again faced with a stern struggle, as severe as the previous one but a more grateful one—the struggle on the bloodless front, on the front of labour.

When, on the bloody front of war, the landowners and capitalists tried to break the Soviet power in Russia, it

seemed as if the cause of the Soviet Republic was hopeless, as if Soviet Russia, the weakest, most backward and most devastated of all countries, would be unable to hold its own against the capitalists of the whole world. The richest powers in the world assisted the Russian whiteguards in this struggle, assigned hundreds of millions of rubles to help them, supplied them with munitions, established special camps abroad for the training of officers—and to this day these recruiting bureaus still exist abroad, where, with the help of the richest capitalists in the world, Russian prisoners of war and volunteers are being recruited for the war against Soviet Russia. It naturally looked as if this was a hopeless undertaking, as if Russia could not hold out against the military powers of the world, who are stronger than we are. Nevertheless, this miracle proved possible; Soviet Russia performed this miracle in two years.

Soviet Russia proved to be the victor in a war against all the richest powers in the world. Why? Not because we were stronger from the military standpoint, of course—that is not the case—but because in the civilised countries there were soldiers who could no longer be deceived, although reams of paper were devoted to proving to them that the Bolsheviks were German agents, usurpers, traitors and terrorists. As a result of this, we find that soldiers returned from Odessa either convinced Bolsheviks or declaring that they "would not fight the workers' and peasants' government". The chief reason for our victory was that the workers of the advanced West-European countries understood and sympathised with the working class of the world so strongly that, despite the lies of the bourgeois press, which in publications issued in millions of copies showered disgusting calumnies on the Bolsheviks—despite all this, the workers were on our side; and this fact determined the issue of our war. Everybody realised that if hundreds of thousands of soldiers had fought against us as they had fought against Germany, we would not have been able to hold on. This was obvious to anybody who knows what war means. Nevertheless, a miracle happened: we defeated them, they were split owing to their wrangling, and their famous League of Nations turned out to resemble a league of mad dogs who are snatching each other's bones and cannot come to terms over a single question;

however, the number of Bolshevik supporters, direct and indirect, conscious and not altogether so, is growing daily and hourly in every country.

Everybody who sympathises with socialism knows what happened to the Second International: for twenty-five years, from 1889 to 1914, it directed the socialist movement in all countries, but when the imperialist war broke out the socialists of the Second International went over to the side of their governments, each defending his own. All those who called themselves republicans, Socialist-Revolutionaries or Mensheviks, in every country, took the side of their own governments, defended their own fatherland and helped to conceal the secret treaties—did not publish them. The socialists who were considered the leaders of the working class went over to the capitalists, went against the Russian working class. The German Government is headed by the Scheidemann gang, who to this day call themselves Social-Democrats but who are the foulest of butchers; in alliance with the landowners and capitalists, they have murdered the leaders of the German working class, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and slaughtered fifteen thousand German proletarians. In the period since its foundation a year ago, the Third (Communist) International has gained a complete victory. The Second International has fallen to pieces.

So you see what a strong influence the Soviet power in Russia has had on the workers of the whole world, despite all the lies and calumnies directed against it. The soldiers and workers hold that power should be vested in those who work—he who does not work, shall not eat, but he who does work is entitled to a voice in the state, he can influence matters of state. That is a simple truth, and millions of working-class people have understood it.

You are now faced with a difficult task, namely, to follow up our military victories by a much more difficult victory This will be all the more difficult because here mere heroism is not enough; here results can be achieved only by persistent work, and years of intense effort will be required.

All over the world the capitalists are mustering labour-power and increasing output. But the workers say in reply, first feed the workers first put a stop to the wrangling for which the workers pay with their lives, first put an end

to the carnage, for millions of people perished in the recent bloodbath to decide whether the British or some other predators were to rule. As long as power is in the hands of the capitalists we are not thinking of increasing production but of overthrowing them.

But now that the capitalists have been overthrown, prove that you are able to increase productivity without them; refute the lie which the capitalists spread about the class-conscious workers, when they say that this is not a revolution, not a new order, but sheer destruction, mere revenge on the capitalists; they say the workers alone can never organise the country and lead it out of economic chaos, that they will only create anarchy. That is the lie which the capitalists of all countries are spreading in millions of ways, and which non-party people, opponents of the Bolsheviks, are conveying in thousands of ways to Russian workers too, especially to those who are under-educated, have been most corrupted by capitalism or are most ignorant. But if, as we have seen, we have been able, in the two years of Soviet power, to stand up to the whole world, it has been largely due to the heroism of the workers.

We are reproached for having established the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the iron, relentless and firm rule of the workers, which stops at nothing and which says that whoever is not with us is against us, and that the slightest resistance to this rule will be crushed. But we are proud of it and say that were it not for this iron rule of the workers, of this workers' vanguard, we should not have been able to hold out for two months, let alone two years. What this dictatorship has given us is this—every time a difficult situation arose during the war, the Party mobilised Communists, and it was they who were the first to perish in the front ranks; they perished in thousands on the Yudenich and Kolchak fronts. The finest members of the working class perished; they sacrificed themselves, realising that although they perished they would save future generations, that they would save thousands upon thousands of workers and peasants. They ruthlessly pilloried and hounded the self-seekers—those who during the war were concerned only for their own skins—and shot them without mercy. We are proud of this dictatorship, of this iron rule of the

workers, which said: "We have overthrown the capitalists and we will lay down our lives to prevent any attempt of theirs to restore their rule." Nobody during these two years went as hungry as the workers of Petrograd, Moscow and Ivanovo-Voznesensk. It has now been computed that during these two years they received not more than seven poods of bread a year, whereas the peasants of the grain-producing gubernias consumed no less than seventeen poods. The workers have made great sacrifices, they have suffered epidemics, and mortality among them has increased. But they will prove that the workers did not rise up against the capitalists out of vengeance, but with the inflexible determination to create a social system in which there will be no landowners and capitalists. It was for the sake of this that these sacrifices were made. It was only because of these unparalleled sacrifices that were made consciously and voluntarily and were backed up by the discipline of the Red Army, without recourse to old methods of discipline—it was only because of these tremendous sacrifices that the advanced workers were able to maintain their dictatorship and earned the right to the respect of the workers of the whole world. Those who are so eager to slander the Bolsheviks should not forget that the dictatorship entailed the greatest sacrifice and starvation on the part of the workers who were exercising it. During these two years the workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Petrograd and Moscow suffered more than anybody fighting on the Red fronts did.

This is what should be, first and foremost, borne in mind and well remembered by the comrades in the coal industry. You are a vanguard. We are continuing the war—not the bloody war, that, fortunately, is over, nobody will now dare to attack Soviet Russia, because they know that they will be defeated since the class-conscious workers cannot be led against us; they will blow up ports, as they did in Archangel under the British and also in Odessa. This has been proved; this much we have gained. But we are continuing the war, we are nevertheless continuing it as an economic war. It is the speculators we are now fighting, the handful of workers who have been corrupted by the old capitalist system and who say to themselves, "I must have higher pay, and to hell with the rest." "Give me double pay, give me two or three

pounds of bread a day," they say, heedless of the fact that they are working for the defence of the workers and peasants, for the defeat of the capitalists. They must be combated by means of comradely education, by comradely persuasion, and there is nobody to do this except the trade unions. It must be explained to such workers that if they side with the speculators and profiteers, with the rich peasants who say, "the more grain I have the more money I shall make" and "each for himself, and God for all", they will be following the precepts of the capitalist gentry and of all who preserve the old capitalist traditions; they must be told that we regard all who act on the old precepts as apostates and traitors whom the working class must brand and put to shame. There are mostly capitalist countries surrounding us and all over the world they are uniting against us, they are joining forces with our speculators; they want to overthrow us by force, and think they are stronger than we are. We continue to be a besieged fortress towards which the eyes of the world's workers are turned, for they know that their freedom will come from here, and in this besieged fortress we must act with military ruthlessness, with military discipline and self-sacrifice. In the ranks of the workers we cannot tolerate self-seekers who refuse to combine the interests of their group with the interests of the workers and peasants in general.

We must, with the help of the trade unions, create the comradely discipline which existed in the Red Army, which is being worked out by the best of our trade unions, and which I am convinced you who have now founded the mineworkers' union will also establish.

Your union will be one of the foremost unions, and it will have all the state assistance we can possibly give. And I am sure that you too will make similar sacrifices to create a firm labour discipline, raise the productivity of labour and foster the spirit of self-sacrifice among the workers in the coal industry, among those who are engaged in what is probably the hardest, dirtiest and most exhausting labour, and which technicians are striving to abolish altogether.

But in order to save Soviet power now, industry must be fed, that is, provided with coal. Unless this is done, it will be impossible to restore the economy and the railways,

it will be impossible to set the factories going and provide goods to be exchanged for the peasants' grain; the peasants cannot, of course, be content with bits of coloured paper, they are granting us a loan, because it is their duty to grant a loan to the hungry workers. But it is our duty to repay this loan, and production, therefore, must be increased tenfold and all the factories started.

That, comrades, is the tremendous task which faces all class-conscious workers, i.e., those workers who realise that the issue is one of preserving and consolidating Soviet power and socialism in order to save all future generations from the yoke of the landowners and capitalists for all time. Those who refuse to understand this must be driven from the ranks of the workers. The trade unions, with their training, influence and propaganda, and their deep concern for production and discipline, will see to those who do not understand it sufficiently. That is the way to strengthen the workers' and peasants' government. And by this slow but most important work you will achieve, you must achieve, victories even more important than those gained by our Red Army at the front.

Published in 1920 in the pamphlet *Resolutions and Decisions of the First (Inaugural) All-Russia Congress of Mineworkers*, Moscow

Published according to the pamphlet

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS[152] APRIL 7, 1920

(*Prolonged, stormy applause. Ovation.*) Comrades, permit me to begin by conveying greetings from the Council of People's Commissars to the Third All-Russia Congress. (*Applause.*) Comrades, Soviet power is now passing through a phase of outstanding importance, which in many respects confronts us with the highly complex and interesting tasks that belong to a period of change. And it is the specific nature of the period that provides the trade unions with special tasks and special responsibilities in the work of building socialism.

That is why I should now like to dwell not so much on certain decisions of the Party Congress which has just ended (on this subject you will receive a more detailed report) as on those changes in the conditions of Soviet policy which link up all the tasks of socialist construction and the activities of the trade unions. The chief feature of the present phase is the transition from war tasks, which have hitherto absorbed all the attention and effort of the Soviet government, to tasks of peaceful economic development. And it should be mentioned right away that this is not the first time that the Soviet government and the Soviet Republic are passing through such a phase. We are reverting to this question once more—this is the second time since the dictatorship of the proletariat was established that history has brought the work of peaceful construction into the foreground.

The first time was at the beginning of 1918, when, after the brief but very impetuous offensive of German imperialism, at a time when the old capitalist army had completely

collapsed and when we had no army of our own and could not create one rapidly, the German imperialist predators forced the Peace of Brest-Litovsk upon us. It seemed as if war tasks had receded into the background, owing to the weakness of the available forces of the Soviet government. It seemed as if we could proceed to the work of peaceful construction. I had occasion to make a report to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee at that time, too. That was on April 29, 1918, nearly two years ago. The Central Committee adopted a number of theses based on my report and had them published. I remind you of this because even at that time the theses enumerated a number of questions—on labour discipline and so forth—which are included in the agenda of this Congress. There is a similarity between that time and the present. I assure you that our attention is again being concentrated on the disputes and differences which were aired in the trade union movement two years ago. It would be a profound mistake to assert that the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party arose out of the present disputes. Such an assertion would only tend to distort the true picture of events. And, therefore, in order to understand the true nature of the question and to set about its solution in a proper way, it would be useful to compare and give some thought to conditions as they were at the beginning of 1918 and as they are today.

At that time, during the brief suspension of the war against German imperialism, the tasks of peace-time development assumed prominence. It looked as if we might enjoy a long period of peaceful constructive work. Civil war had not yet begun. Krasnov had, with German aid, only just appeared on the Don. There were no hostilities in the Urals and in the North. The Soviet Republic included a vast territory—all except what it had been deprived of by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Conditions were such that we might count upon a long period of peaceful work. And, under these conditions, the primary question taken up by the Communist Party and stressed in a number of resolutions (particularly that of April 29, 1918) was the need for widespread propaganda of, and greater insistence on, labour discipline.

Dictatorial powers and one-man management are not contradictory to socialist democracy. This must now be borne

in mind, if the decisions adopted by the recent Party Congress and the general tasks that confront us are to be understood. And this is not an answer to questions that have only just arisen; it has its deep roots in the very conditions of the period in which we live. Let anyone who doubts this compare the situation with what it was two years ago, and he will understand that the present phase demands that all attention be devoted to labour discipline, to the labour armies, although two years ago there was no mention of labour armies. Only by comparing the issue as it stands today with the way it stood then, can we draw a proper conclusion, ignoring minor details and singling out what is general and fundamental. The whole attention of the Communist Party and the Soviet government is centred on peaceful economic development, on problems of the dictatorship and of one-man management. Not only the experience we have had in the stubborn civil war of the past two years leads us to such a solution of these problems.

When we tackled them for the first time in 1918, there was no civil war and no experience to speak of.

It was, therefore, not only the experience of the Red Army and of the victorious Civil War, but something more profound, something bound up with the tasks of the dictatorship of the working class in general, that has induced us now, as it did two years ago, to concentrate all our attention on labour discipline as the crucial factor in the economic development of socialism, and as the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat as we understand it. Since capitalism was overthrown, every day of our revolution has taken us further and further away from the idea about which the old internationalists, who were thoroughly petty-bourgeois, made so much ado; they believed that the decision of a majority in the democratic institutions of bourgeois parliamentarism—with private property in land, the means of production and capital still retained—could settle the issue, when as a matter of fact it can be decided only by a bitter class struggle. The significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat in actual practice unfolded before us when, after the conquest of power, we set about putting it into practice and saw that the struggle between classes had not ceased with this, that the victory over the capitalists and landowners had not

destroyed these classes, that it had only smashed them, but had not completely destroyed them; suffice it to mention the international ties of capital, which are of much longer standing and more solid than the ties of the working class are as yet.

On an international scale, capital is still stronger, both from the military and the economic standpoint, than Soviet power and the Soviet system. That is the fundamental premise from which we must proceed, and we must never forget it. Forms of the struggle against capital change—at one time they acquire an open international character, at another they are centred in one country. The forms change, but the struggle goes on whether it be in the military, the economic, or some other sphere of the social system; and our revolution confirms the basic law of the class struggle. The greater the cohesion achieved by the proletariat in overthrowing the bourgeois classes, the more it learns. The revolution develops in the course of the struggle itself. And the struggle does not cease with the overthrow of the capitalists. Only after the defeat of the capitalists has been consolidated in one country does it acquire practical significance for the whole world. At the beginning of the October Revolution the capitalists regarded our revolution as a freak—any queer thing may happen in those distant parts, they thought.

For the dictatorship of the proletariat to acquire world significance, it had to be consolidated in practice in some one country. Only then did the capitalists—not only the Russian capitalists, who at once rushed to seek the aid of other capitalists, but the capitalists of all other countries—become convinced that this matter was acquiring international significance. Only then did the resistance of the capitalists on a world scale attain the force it did. Only then did civil war develop in Russia and all the victorious countries do their utmost to assist the Russian capitalists and landowners in the Civil War.

The class struggle in Russia had taken full shape by 1900, whereas the socialist revolution became victorious in 1917. Not only did the resistance of the overthrown class continue to develop after its overthrow, but it acquired a new source of strength in the relations between the pro-

letariat and the peasantry. This is known to anybody who has made any study of Marxism, who has based socialism on the international movement of the working class, as its only scientific foundation. Everyone knows that Marxism gives the theoretical reason for the abolition of classes. What does this mean? For the victory of socialism it is not enough to overthrow the capitalists; the difference between the proletariat and the peasantry must be abolished. The position of the peasantry is this—on the one hand, it is a class of working people, who for decades and centuries were oppressed by the landowners and capitalists, and it will therefore be a long time before they can forget that the workers alone liberated them from this oppression. This question could be discussed for decades; reams of paper have been filled on the subject, and many factional groups have taken shape around it. But we now see that these differences have paled before reality. As working people, the peasants will not forget for many years to come that it was the workers alone who liberated them from the landowners. That cannot be contested; but they remain property-owners in a commodity-producing economy. Every case of a sale of grain on the open market, of speculation and profiteering is the restoration of a commodity-producing economy, and hence of capitalism. By overthrowing the capitalists we liberated the peasantry, a class which in old Russia undoubtedly comprised the majority of the population. The peasants have remained property-owners in their form of production, and they are continuing to develop new capitalist relations after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. These are the basic features of our economic position. Hence the absurdity of the talk we hear from those who do not understand the state of affairs. The talk of equality, liberty and democracy under present conditions is nonsense. We are waging a class struggle, and our aim is to abolish classes. As long as workers and peasants remain, socialism has not been achieved. And, in practice, we find an irreconcilable struggle going on everywhere. We must think about how and under what conditions the proletariat, wielding so powerful an apparatus of coercion as the state, can attract the peasant as a working man and overcome his resistance as a property-owner, or render it harmless.

Here the class struggle is continuing, and this throws new light on the significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It appears before us not only, and not even largely, as the employment of the coercive means of the state apparatus for the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters. It is, of course, right to say that we have done a lot by taking this as the basis, but we also have another method, in which the proletariat plays the part of an organiser, of one who has been through the school of labour and the training and discipline of the capitalist factory. We must organise economic life on a new and more perfect basis, counting on and utilising all the achievements of capitalism. Without this we shall never be able to build socialism and communism. This is much more difficult than the war tasks. In many respects the war tasks are easier to accomplish. They can be accomplished by enthusiasm, energy and self-sacrifice. It was easier for the peasant to fight his inveterate enemy, the landowner, and more within his understanding. He did not have to understand the connection between the power of the workers and the necessity to put down freedom of trade. It was easier to beat the Russian whiteguards, the landowners and capitalists, and their henchmen, the Mensheviks. This victory will cost us more, both in time and effort.

You cannot win in economic matters in the same way as in a war. Freedom of trade cannot be defeated by enthusiasm and self-sacrifice. Here, prolonged work is required; the ground has to be won inch by inch; the organising forces of the proletariat are required. Victory may be achieved only if the proletariat wields its dictatorship as a great, organised and organising force, a force of moral influence on all the working people, including the non-proletarian working masses. Now that we have been successful—and will continue to be equally successful—in carrying out the first and simplest task, the suppression of the exploiters who directly attempt to sweep away Soviet power, a second and more complex task arises, which is to organise the forces of the proletariat, to learn to be good organisers. Labour must be organised in a new way; new ways of stimulating people to work and to observe labour discipline must be devised. Even capitalism took decades to accomplish this. All too often the worst

mistakes are made in this field. Many of our opponents show a complete failure to understand this question. They said we were utopians when we maintained that power could be seized. On the other hand, they expect us to complete the organisation of labour in a few months and to show results that require several years to produce. That is absurd. Given the political conditions, power can be retained by the sheer enthusiasm of the workers, perhaps even in the face of the whole world. That we have proved. But the creation of new forms of social discipline requires decades. Even capitalism required many decades to transform the old system of organisation. From the theoretical standpoint it is sheer nonsense to expect that we can reconstruct the organisation of labour in short order, and to instil this idea into the minds of the, workers and peasants.

And not only is it nonsense, it is extremely harmful, because it prevents the workers from clearly understanding the difference between the new tasks and the old. The new task is to organise industry, and first of all our own forces—and as far as organisation is concerned, we are weak, weaker than any of the advanced nations. The ability to do this is developed by large-scale machine industry, and it has never, in all history, had any other material basis than the productive labour of millions employing large-scale machine industry in accordance with a previously established plan. And here the interests of the proletariat and the peasantry do not coincide. A difficult period of struggle begins—a struggle against the peasantry. We must, however, make it clear to the peasants that they have no other course; they must either march with the workers, they must help the proletariat, or again succumb to the rule of the landowners. There is no middle course; the Mensheviks have a middle course, but it is a thoroughly rotten one and is failing everywhere, including Germany. The peasant masses cannot get an understanding of this by theory or by observing the Second and Third Internationals. The peasant masses—comprising tens of millions of people—can get an understanding of this only from their own experience, from their daily practical life. The peasants could understand the victory over Kolchak and Denikin. They were able to compare in practice Kolchak and Denikin with the dictatorship of the

working class which the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries had tried very hard and are still trying to scare the peasants with. But actually the peasants could never study theory, and cannot now. The peasant masses see that the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries are all lying; and they see the struggle we are waging against profiteering. It must be confessed that the Mensheviks too have made some progress in propaganda, having learned something from our political departments in the army. The peasants saw a banner on which was inscribed, not dictatorship of the proletariat, but Constituent Assembly, the power of the people; they did not see the word "dictatorship", they did not even understand the word. But experience has taught them that Soviet government is better.

And we are now faced with a second task, that of bringing moral influence to bear on the peasantry. Coercive methods towards the peasantry will help us little. It is the economic differentiation of the peasantry that is involved here. Since the overthrow of the capitalists, the struggle has drawn the workers close together; they have been cemented by two years of civil war. The peasantry, on the other hand, is splitting up more and more. The peasants cannot forget the landowners and capitalists; they remember them. Nevertheless, the peasantry of today are disunited; the interests of one section clash with those of another. The peasantry are not united. For one thing, not every peasant has food surpluses. There is no such equality. It is nonsense to say there is. To divide the peasantry and win over the non-kulak elements will require a lot of time. It will involve a long struggle, in which we shall employ all our forces, every means at our disposal. But force alone cannot ensure victory; moral means must be employed too. And from this follow all the questions of dictatorial power and individual authority which to many, or to some at any rate, it may be safely said, appear to have arisen only out of our recent disputes. But that is a mistake. Compare the situation with that of 1918. There were no disputes then.

When, after the peace with Germany, the question arose as to what should be the basis of power, we Communists replied—it must he made clear that democracy under the Soviet system does not contradict dictatorship. This was not to the

liking of many leaders of the old International. Even Kautsky cursed me.

The peasants are half labourers and half property-owners, and in order to win them over to us there must be unity of will, all must act in unison on every practical issue. Unity of will must not be a catchword, a symbol. We demand it in practice. This is how unity of will was expressed during the war—anybody who placed his own interests (or the interests of his village or group) above the common interests, was branded as a self-seeker and was shot; this was justified by the moral consciousness of the working class that it must achieve victory. We spoke about these shootings openly; we said that we made no secret of coercion, because we realised that we could not emerge from the old society without resorting to compulsion as far as the backward section of the proletariat was concerned. That is the way unity of will was expressed, and it was maintained in practice by punishing every deserter; in every battle and every campaign it was maintained by the Communists marching in the forefront and setting an example. The present task is to try to apply this unity of will to industry and agriculture. We have a territory stretching thousands of versts and huge numbers of factories. You must realise, therefore, that we cannot achieve our purpose by force alone; you must realise what a colossal task confronts us and what unity of will means today. It is not only a slogan. It must be given thought, careful thought. It is a slogan that entails prolonged, day-to-day effort. Take 1918, when there were no such disputes; even then I pointed to the necessity for individual authority, to the need to recognise the dictatorial authority of individuals in order to carry out the Soviet idea. All talk about equality of rights is nonsense. We are not waging the class struggle on the basis of equality of rights, nor can we if the proletariat is to prevail. Prevail it can, because we have hundreds of thousands of disciplined people expressing a single will; and it can prevail over the peasantry, which have been dispersed economically, and which have no common basis such as welds together the proletariat in the factories and the cities. The peasants are economically disunited. They are partly property-owners and partly labourers. Property drags them towards capitalism: "The more profitably I sell, the better.

If they're starving, I'll sell at a higher price." But, as a working man, the peasant knows that he suffered oppression at the hands of the landowner, from which he was liberated by the worker. Here we have a conflict of two souls, resulting from the economic status of the peasantry. These two souls must be separated one from the other. And we shall win only when we pursue a firm policy. All working people will always be working people to us; but as for the peasant proprietors, we have to fight them. Not only are they always at each other's throats, but they are ignorant into the bargain. The gentlemen at the League of Nations, thank God, are not ignorant; they are probably better educated than our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. But what do we find? Japan glorifies the League of Nations, yet tries to trip up America, and so on.

They are all at loggerheads, whereas we are united. And that is why workers in all countries are joining us. Since we have been able to defeat such enlightened gentlemen as the directors of international policy, who have so much experience, so much wealth, and a hundred guns and battleships for every one of ours, it is absurd to think that we cannot solve the peasant problem. It is discipline, loyalty, and united will that will win here. The will of tens and hundreds of thousands of people can be expressed by one person. This composite will is achieved in the Soviet way. In no other country have there been so many congresses of peasants and workers as in ours. That is the way we develop an enlightened attitude. What the Soviet Constitution gives us no other state has been able to give in two hundred years. (Applause.) To take only the number of congresses—no other state has summoned so many in a century of democracy. In this way we arrive at common decisions and mould a common will.

This is the broad way in which our Soviet Constitution, our Soviet form of government are to he understood. Its effect is that the decisions of the Soviet government have power of authority without parallel in the world, the power of the workers and peasants. But that is not enough for us. We are materialists, and you cannot satisfy us with power of authority, so please take the trouble to put it into effect. And here we find the old bourgeois instinct gaining the upper

hand, and we must frankly admit that it is stronger than we are. The old petty-bourgeois habit of conducting enterprises on individual lines and trying to strengthen freedom of trade is stronger than we are.

The trade unions arose out of capitalism as a means of developing the new class. Class is a concept which is evolved in struggle and development. There is no wall dividing one class from another. The workers and peasants are not separated by a Chinese Wall. How did man learn to form associations? First through the guild, and then according to different trades. Having become a class, the proletariat grew so strong that it took over the whole state machine, proclaimed war on the whole world and emerged victorious. The guilds and craft unions have now become backward institutions. Time was when the proletarians, under capitalism amalgamated along the lines of guild and craft. This was progressive at that time because the proletariat could not have amalgamated in any other way. It is absurd to say that the proletariat could have amalgamated to form a class at once. Such amalgamation requires decades. Marx, more than anybody, fought such sectarian and short-sighted views. The class grows under capitalist conditions, and when the suitable moment for revolution arrives, it takes state power into its own hands. And then all the guilds and craft unions become obsolete, they play a backward role, they are retrograde, not because they are run by bad people, but because bad people and enemies of communism find in them fertile soil for their propaganda. We are surrounded by the petty bourgeoisie who are reviving freedom of trade and capitalism. Karl Marx fought vigorously against the old utopian socialism and advocated the scientific view, which shows that the class struggle fosters the growth of the class, and the class must be helped to mature. Marx also fought the working-class leaders who went astray. In the Federal Council, in 1872, a vote of censure was passed on Marx for saying that the British leaders had been bribed by the bourgeoisie. Of course, Marx did not mean this in the sense that certain people were traitors. That is nonsense. He spoke about a bloc of a certain section of the workers with the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie supports this section of the workers directly and indirectly. That is the way in which it bribes them.

As far as getting its representatives elected to parliament is concerned, the British bourgeoisie has worked miracles, and excels all others. Marx and Engels exposed the bourgeoisie over a period of forty years, from 1852 to 1892, and the bourgeoisie acts in the same way in all countries. The fact that throughout the world trade unions have passed from the role of slaves to the role of builders marks a turning-point. We have existed for two years and what do we see? We see today that the working class has suffered most from hunger. In 1918 and 1919 the country's industrial workers received only seven poods of bread each, whereas the peasants of the grain-producing gubernias each had seventeen poods. Under the tsar the peasant used to get sixteen poods of bread at the best, whereas under our rule he gets seventeen poods. There is statistical evidence of this. The proletariat has been hungry for two years but this hunger has shown that the worker is capable of sacrificing not only his craft interests, but even his life. The proletariat was able to stand famine for two years because it had the moral support of all the labouring folk, and it bore these sacrifices for the sake of the victory of the workers' and peasants' government. It is true that the division of workers according to trade continues, and that many of these trades were necessary to the capitalist but are not necessary to us. And we know that the workers in these trades are suffering more severely from hunger than others. And it cannot be otherwise. Capitalism has been smashed, but socialism has not yet been built; and it will take a long time to build. Here we come up against all sorts of misunderstandings, which are not fortuitous, but are the result of the difference in the historical role of the trade unions as an instrument of craft amalgamation under capitalism and the trade unions as an instrument of the class amalgamation of the workers after they have taken over the state power. The workers are prepared to make any sacrifice; they create the discipline which compels people to say and feel, perhaps vaguely, that class interests are higher than craft interests. Workers who are incapable of making such sacrifices we regard as self-seekers, and we drive them out of the proletarian fold.

Such was the fundamental question of labour discipline, of one-man management in a general sense, as discussed by

the Party Congress. That is the gist of the decisions of the Party Congress, which you are all familiar with and which will be spoken of in greater detail in special reports. Their meaning is that the working class has grown and matured; it has taken over the power and is fighting the whole bourgeois world; and this struggle is becoming more and more difficult. It was easier to fight in the war. What is now required is organisation and moral education. Numerically the proletariat in Russia is at present not very strong. Its ranks have grown thinner during the war and our very victories have made it harder for us to govern the country. Both the trade unionists and the masses of the workers must realise this. When we talk about dictatorship, it is not the whim of centralists. The regions we have won have greatly enlarged the territory of Soviet Russia. We have won Siberia, the Don and the Kuban areas. There the percentage of proletarians is very small, smaller than it is here. We must go straight to the worker and tell him frankly that conditions of work have grown more complicated. We need more discipline, more individual authority and more dictatorship. Without that, we cannot even dream of a bigger victory. We have an organised army of three million members. The 600,000 Communists, the members of the Party, must act as its vanguard.

But it must be realised that we have no other army with which to gain a victory than the 600,000 Communists and the three million trade union members. The acquisition of territories with a peasant-kulak population demands a new exertion of proletarian effort. We are faced with a new ratio of proletarian to non-proletarian masses, of their social and class interests. Nothing can be done here by force alone, organisation and moral authority are all that is needed. Hence our absolute conviction, which was expressed by our Party Congress and which I deem it my duty to uphold. Our chief slogan is—let us have more one-man management, let us get closer to one-man management, let us have more labour discipline, let us pull ourselves together and work with military determination, staunchness and loyalty, brushing aside all group and craft interests, sacrificing all private interests. We cannot succeed otherwise. But if we carry out this decision of the Party, carry it out to a man among the three million workers, and then among the tens of mil-

lions of peasants, who will feel the moral authority and strength of the people who have sacrificed themselves for the victory of socialism, we shall be absolutely and completely invincible. (*Stormy applause.*)

Bulletin of the Third All-Russia Trade Union Congress No. 2, April 8, 1920

Published according to *Third All-Russia Trade Union Congress*, *Verbatim Report*, 1921, verified with the text of the *Bulletin*

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE OLD SOCIAL SYSTEM TO THE CREATION OF THE NEW

Our newspaper[153] is devoted to the problem of communist labour.

This is the paramount problem in the building of socialism. First of all, we must make it quite clear to ourselves that this question *could* be raised in a practical way only after the proletariat had captured political power, only after the landowners and capitalists had been expropriated, only after the proletariat, having captured state power, had achieved decisive victories over the exploiters who put up a desperate resistance and organised counter-revolutionary rebellions and civil war.

It seemed that the time had arrived early in 1918—and it had indeed arrived after the February (1918) military campaign of German imperialism against Russia. But on that occasion the period was so short-lived, a new and more powerful wave of counter-revolutionary rebellions and invasions swept over us so quickly, that the Soviet government had no opportunity, to devote itself at all closely and persistently to problems of peaceful development.

We have now passed through two years of unprecedented and incredible difficulties, two years of famine, privation, and distress, accompanied by the unprecedented victories of the Red Army over the hordes of international capitalist reaction.

Today there are serious grounds for hoping (if the French capitalists do not incite Poland to make war on us) that we shall get a more durable and lasting peace.

During these two years we have acquired some experience in organisation on the basis of socialism. That is why we can, and should, get right down to the problem of communist labour, or rather, it would be more correct to say, not communist, but socialist labour; for we are dealing not with the higher, but the lower, the primary stage of development of the new social system that is growing out of capitalism.

Communist labour in the narrower and stricter sense of the term is labour performed gratis for the benefit of society, labour performed not as a definite duty, not for the purpose of obtaining a right to certain products, not according to previously established and legally fixed quotas, but voluntary labour, irrespective of quotas; it is labour performed without expectation of reward, without reward as a condition, labour performed because it has become a habit to work for the common good, and because of a conscious realisation (that has become a habit) of the necessity of working for the common good—labour as the requirement of a healthy organism.

It must be clear to everybody that we, i.e., our society, our social system, are still a very long way from the application of *this* form of labour on a broad, really mass scale.

But the very fact that this question has been raised, and raised both by the whole of the advanced proletariat (the Communist Party and the trade unions) and by the state authorities, is a step in this direction.

To achieve big things we must start with little things.

On the other hand, after the "big things", after the revolution which overthrew capitalist ownership and placed the proletariat in power, the organisation of economic life on the *new* basis *can* only start from *little* things.

Subbotniks, labour armies, labour conscription—these are the practical realisation of socialist and communist labour in various forms.

This practical realisation still suffers from numerous defects. Only people who are totally incapable of thinking, if we leave aside the champions of capitalism, can laugh scornfully (or rage) at them.

Defects, mistakes, blunders in such a new, difficult and great undertaking are inevitable. Those who are afraid of

the difficulties of building socialism, those who allow themselves to be scared by them, those who give way to despair or cowardly dismay, are no socialists.

It will take many years, decades, to create a new labour discipline, new forms of social ties between people, and new forms and methods of drawing people into labour.

It is a most gratifying and noble work.

It is our good fortune that, by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and suppressing its resistance, we have been able to win the ground on which this work *has become possible*.

And we will set about this work with all our might. Perseverance, persistence, willingness, determination and ability to test things a hundred times, to correct them a hundred times, but to achieve the goal come what may—these are qualities which the proletariat acquired in the course of the ten, fifteen or twenty years that preceded the October Revolution, and which it has acquired in the two years that have passed since this revolution, years of unprecedented privation, hunger, ruin and destitution. These qualities of the proletariat are a guarantee that the proletariat will conquer.

April 8, 1920

Kommunistichesky Subbotnik,
April 11, 1920
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to the newspaper text

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF TEXTILE WORKERS[154] APRIL 19, 1920

(*Stormy applause. Ovation.*) Comrades, permit me to thank you for your welcome and to convey to you the greetings of the Council of People's Commissars.

The Party Congress just concluded and the resolutions it has passed are still fresh in our minds. And you are all aware, too, of the important tasks which the Party Congress has set before the workers, the peasants and the working people of the Soviet Republic generally. The sum and substance of these tasks is to create a united labour front.

It is fortunate for the Russian proletariat that the Civil War has been brought to a successful close; now that there only remains the menace of Poland, directed by the zeal of the imperialists of Western Europe, we have to make an incredibly difficult transition, we have to start building up our internal life.

In order to explain the tremendous change, in order to explain the difficulties that are now confronting the working class, I shall outline the chief stages in the development towards the communist system through which the Russian proletariat has passed.

Ignorant and unenlightened peasants, finding themselves for the first time in a factory, well equipped and supplied with wonderful modern machinery, used to be filled with amazement, overwhelmed by its unaccustomed magnificence. The peasant, in his ignorance, would regard the factory-Owner as his benefactor and provider, who furnished him with work, and without whom the working man could not subsist.

The helpless worker, coming from the stagnant, rustic life of the village into the seething cauldron of the factory, where he secured more bearable conditions of life, and the chance of making some kind of a living, would fall under the oppressive yoke of capitalist exploitation. Everybody knows what the workers of Russia and other countries experienced during this painful period. But then we see that the worker gradually sheds his backward and crushed peasant manner and begins to rise to a higher level of development; we see him making the first attempts to combat the oppressors by means of strikes, the attempts of the disunited proletarian masses to organise in trade unions; we see the worker beginning to show signs of a new strength within him; we see that any strike, no matter how insignificant results, always created something invaluable, something new, important and significant. Strikes taught the worker to realise that there is strength only in union with other workers, a powerful force capable of bringing the machines to a standstill and transforming the slave into a free man able to take advantage of the goods which belong by right to their producer. We are all familiar with the picture of development of the strike movement during the past few decades, its gradual progres- . sion from small, disunited local strikes to wide organised actions. In 1905, a mighty strike wave swept over Russia. With the growth of the organised strike struggle against the capitalists, the worker acquired a hitherto unknown strength. The trade unions played a foremost part in this. The workers came to realise that all the achievements of technology, all the machines and implements of production, which the capitalists used in their own interests and to the detriment of the proletariat, could and should become the property of the proletariat. That was a new phase, a phase of organised resist- . ance to the capitalists through the trade unions; it was a new step forward in the development of the proletariat's consciousness of its existence as a class. The worker was no longer a meek and helpless tool in the hands of the oppressors. His whole environment led him to the conviction that a constant, tireless and unyielding struggle was essential. The worker fought to secure a certain improvement in his economic condition, an increase of wages, a reduction of hours. At this stage of the trade union movement his hopes

and dreams were directed to securing at least the elements of a decent life.

But although the proletariat's consciousness of itself as a class even to this extent had at one time represented a tremendous step forward, there came a time when it, too, became inadequate. Conditions demanded a new advance.

The capitalists of the world had grown more insolent and after suppressing the working masses they held them fast in the grip of a world war, engineered in order both to continue oppressing the proletariat, which was struggling for emancipation, and to rob each other of territory. The imperialist predators, armed to the teeth, fell upon each other. They tried to persuade the workers that the war was being waged in the great cause of human emancipation. But the workers did not remain blind for long. The Peace of Brest-Litovsk, the Peace of Versailles, the seizure of all the colonies by Great Britain and France opened their eyes sufficiently for them to realise the true state of affairs. It became known that during the world war ten million people had been killed and twenty million maimed, and all this only for the further enrichment of the predators.

Once their eyes had been opened the workers rose against the yoke of capital; the social revolution broke out, started by the October events. Our duty now is not merely to be members of our trade unions—that is not enough. The workers must rise to a higher level, to develop from an oppressed class into a ruling class. We cannot count on the peasants as yet. They are disunited and helpless, and it will be some time before they emerge from their state of ignorance. The peasants can be brought out of the slough of ignorance only by the class which itself sprang from the peasantry, which has learned to understand the power of organisation and has been able to secure a better life—and not only under capitalism, for that was secured by the workers of Western Europe, but it did not save them from war. The workers must understand that they are facing a new and far more difficult task, namely, to take the entire administration of the state into their own hands. The workers must say to themselves that as long as private property remains, as long as capitalism is not smashed, no one who lives at the expense of others should be allowed to wield power.

That is the object of the Soviet government's activities, a government for which the world proletariat is showing a rapidly developing sympathy. When it created the new proletarian state, the working class assumed a tremendous burden. The workers can destroy the exploiting classes and bring about socialism only by going hand in hand with the peasants. The peasants are still working each for himself, selling their surplus in the open market and thereby helping a handful of robbers to become still richer. They do not do this wittingly; it is because they live under conditions entirely different from those of the workers. But freedom of trade means a return to capitalist slavery. In order to avoid it, labour must be organised in a new way, and there is nobody to do it but the proletariat.

The worker is now not only a member of his trade union organisation. Such a view would imply a return to the past. The fight against capital is not yet over. Capitalism is still impeding the measures of the Soviet government; it is doing so by profiteering, Sukharevka Market,[155] and so on. This force can be countered only by the force of workers' organisations built on new principles, based, not on their narrow production interests, but on the interests of the whole state. Only when the whole working class, irrespective of trade or craft, succeeds in uniting as a ruling class and creating a united army of labour, will it win the respect of the world.

The peasants, convinced that Kolchak and Denikin have been smashed by the strength of the proletariat, are now feeling the firm hand of a good manager. But they will gain complete confidence in the proletariat only when attempts to restore capitalism will no longer be possible. Only then will the peasant understand that there is no place for kulaks and parasites in a proletarian country. But the peasant does not as yet believe in his heart of hearts that the proletariat can cope with its great task.

The unparalleled privations of the past two years, consciously shouldered by the proletariat of Russia fighting in the front ranks of the Red Army, are not yet over. New privations and new tasks face us, which will be the more difficult the greater the number of victories we win on the Red front. Extensive territories have been won in Siberia and

the Ukraine, where there is no proletariat like that of Moscow, Petrograd and Ivanovo-Voznesensk, which has shown in practice that it will defend the gains of the revolution at any price. Class-conscious workers must penetrate every pore of the state; they must know how to approach the peasants and organise them in the cause of the class which has flung off the yoke of the landowners and is building up a state without capitalists. Devotion and iron discipline are required. The entire proletariat, like one man, must achieve unparalleled miracles on the labour front like those achieved on the war front. Many at first thought that the revolution was a hopeless cause. The army in a state of complete collapse, mass desertions from the front, lack of ammunition—that is what we inherited from Kerensky. The Russian proletariat succeeded in rallying and knitting together scattered forces and in creating a united and stalwart Red Army. The Red Army worked miracles in repulsing the onslaught of the capitalists, who were supported by the capitalists of the whole world. The tasks of the labour front are even more difficult, immeasurably so. But while for the Red Army only men were required, we must now throw into the labour front all the able-bodied forces of the country—men, women, and even adolescents. We need iron discipline, and that is a weak point with us Russians. We must display determination, endurance, firmness and unanimity. We must stop at nothing. Everybody and everything must be used to save the rule of the workers and peasants, to save communism.

The war is not over, it is continuing on the bloodless front. Here the enemy is still stronger than we are; that must be admitted. The petty producers, who sell their products in the open market, are being assisted by world capital, which with one hand is prepared to re-establish trade relations, and with the other is prepared to crush the proletariat and Soviet Russia.

All the four millions of our proletariat must be prepared for new sacrifices, new privations and new hardships, no smaller than those of the war. Only thus can we hope to smash the enemy for good. The peasant, who is still temporising and vacillating, will then finally become convinced of the strength of the proletariat. The memory of the landowners, of Denikin and Kolchak is still fresh in the mind of the

peasant; but he also sees laziness and idleness around him, and he says: "Yes, it may be a good thing, but not for the likes of us."

The peasants must be shown something else. Let the working class organise production as it organised the Red Army. Let every worker realise that he is ruling the country. The fewer we are the greater the demands made on us. Russia must be transformed into a vast army of labour heroically conscious that everything must be sacrificed for the common cause—the emancipation of the working people.

Everybody knows that the textile industry is at a complete standstill because today we have no cotton—it has to be imported—owing to the fact that Western Europe, too, is suffering from an acute shortage of raw materials. Our one source of supply is Turkestan, which has recently been won from the whiteguards, but the transport system has not yet been properly organised.

One means of salvation at the present time is to extract and prepare peat as quickly as possible, which will enable us to start all the power stations at full capacity and save us from being completely dependent on coal regions remote from Central Russia.

To rely on wood fuel in the present state of disorganisation is out of the question. The peat deposits are situated mainly in the textile districts. And one of the chief duties of the textile workers must be to organise peat extraction. I know that this is extremely arduous work: you have to stand up to your knees in water, and, what with the shortage of boots and living quarters, the difficulties are immense. But did the Red Army have everything it needed? How many sacrifices, how many hardships the men of the Red Army bore when for two months they marched up to their waists in water, capturing tanks from the British ! The capitalists are hoping that the workers, exhausted and starving, will not be able to hold out. The capitalists are waiting to pounce on the workers' state, and their one hope is that the proletariat will be unable to cope with the task of creating a united labour front and will restore them to power.

I am very far from thinking that the work that faces us is easy, but all difficulties must and can be overcome. Every worker must help to organise labour, he must show

the peasants that he is an organiser, and that work must be regarded as the only means of maintaining the rule of the workers and peasants. When Kerensky was still in power, the capitalists, realising even then that they would be unable to retain the factories, began to do damage to production, to conclude agreements with the capitalists of other countries for the destruction of Russian industry so as not to surrender it to the workers, and endeavoured to exhaust the proletariat by civil war.

The working class is facing a very severe test, and every working man and woman must achieve even greater miracles than the Red Army soldiers achieved at the front. A victory on the labour front, devotion under the drab workaday conditions, are immeasurably more difficult, but are a hundred times more valuable than sacrificing one's life.

Away with the old isolation ! Only the worker who has proved worth his salt as a member of the Red Army of labour is worthy of being a trade union member. Even though we commit hundreds of mistakes, even though we suffer thousands of defeats, that will not daunt us. We must realise that only the persistent onslaught of the proletariat can secure victory.

For two years now the proletariat has been defending the rule of the workers and peasants. All over the world the social revolution is maturing. If we want to prove that we can cope with the task confronting us, we must, however difficult the situation may be, maintain all our energy and assurance, all our proletarian enthusiasm, and achieve on the peaceful front of labour miracles as great as those of the Red Army on the bloody front of struggle against the imperialists and their henchmen. (*Stormy applause.*)

Pravda No. 83, April 20, 1920

Published according to the pamphlet *Minutes of the Third All-Russia Congress of the Textile Workers' Union*, Moscow, 1920, verified with the verbatim report

SPEECH
DELIVERED AT A MEETING ORGANISED BY THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.) IN HONOUR OF LENIN'S FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY[156]
APRIL 23, 1920

(*Stormy applause*.) Comrades, I must naturally begin by thanking you for two things: firstly, for the congratulations addressed to me today, and, secondly, even more for having spared me congratulatory speeches. (*Applause*.) I think that perhaps in this way we may gradually, not all at once, of course, devise a more suitable method of celebrating anniversaries than the one hitherto in vogue, which has sometimes formed the subject of remarkably good cartoons. Here is one such cartoon drawn by a prominent artist in celebration of such a jubilee. I received it today with an extremely cordial letter. And as the comrades have been kind enough to spare me congratulatory speeches, I will hand this cartoon round for all to see, so as to save us in future from such jubilee celebrations altogether.[157]

Next, I would like to say a few words about the present status of the Bolshevik Party. What brought these thoughts to my mind was some lines written by a certain writer eighteen years ago, in 1902. This writer is Karl Kautsky, with whom we have now had to part ways very definitely, and whom we have to fight, but who in the struggle against German opportunism used to be one of the leaders of the proletarian party, and with whom we at one time collaborated. There were no Bolsheviks then, but all the future Bolsheviks who collaborated with him appraised him very highly. Here is what this writer wrote in 1902:

"At the present time [in contrast to 1848] it would seem that not only have the Slavs entered the ranks of the revolutionary nations, but that the centre of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action is shifting more and more to the Slavs. The revolutionary centre is shifting from the West to the East. In the first half of the nineteenth century it was located in France, at times in England. In 1848 Germany too joined the ranks of the revolutionary nations.... The new century opens with events which induce us to think that we are approaching a further shift of the revolutionary centre, namely, to *Russia*.... Russia, who has borrowed so much revolutionary initiative from the West, is now perhaps herself ready to serve as a source of revolutionary energy for the West. The Russian revolutionary movement that is now flaring up will perhaps prove to be a most potent means of exorcising that spirit of flabby philistinism and temperate politics which is beginning to spread in our midst, and it may cause the thirst for battle and the passionate devotion to our great ideals to flare up in bright flames again. Russia has long ceased to be merely a bulwark of reaction and absolutism in Western Europe. It might be said that today the very opposite is the case. Western Europe is becoming a bulwark of reaction and absolutism in Russia.... The Russian revolutionaries might perhaps have settled with the tsar long ago had they not been compelled at the same time to fight his ally, European capital. Let us hope that this time they will succeed in settling with both enemies, and that the new 'Holy Alliance' will collapse more quickly than its predecessors. But no matter how the present struggle in Russia ends, the blood and happiness of the martyrs, whom, unfortunately, she is producing in too great numbers, will not have been sacrificed in vain. They will nourish the shoots of social revolution throughout the civilised world and cause them to grow more luxuriantly and rapidly. In 1848 the Slavs were a black frost which blighted the flowers of the peoples' spring. Perhaps they are now destined to be the storm that will break the ice of reaction and will irresistibly bring a new and happy spring for the nations." (K. Kautsky, "The Slavs and Revolution", *Iskra* No. 18, March 10, 1902.)

That is what a prominent socialist, with whom we have now had to break so drastically, wrote about the revolutionary movement in Russia eighteen years ago. These words lead me to think that our Party may now find itself in a very dangerous position—the position of a man with a swelled head. It is a very stupid, shameful and ridiculous position. We know that the failure and decline of political parties have very often been preceded by a state of affairs in which a swelled head is possible. And, indeed, what was expected of the Russian revolution by the man I have quoted and who is now our bitterest enemy, was immense beyond measure. But after all, the brilliant successes and brilliant victories we have gained so far were gained at a time when it was still impossible to grapple with our main difficulties. It was a time when we were confronted by war tasks, the tasks of waging a most profound and most energetic struggle against the landowner and tsarist reactionaries, and against reactionary generals. And so, the tasks that are the substance of the socialist revolution had to be postponed in order to grapple with the task of organising the struggle against the common, everyday manifestations of petty-bourgeois instincts, division and disunity, that is, against everything that would drag us back to capitalism. These tasks were postponed both in the economic and political spheres; we were unable to tackle them properly. And therefore the danger suggested to us by the words I have quoted should be seriously borne in mind by all Bolsheviks, both severally and as an integral political party. We must realise that the decisions of our last Party Congress must be carried out at all costs, and this means that a tremendous job faces us, and that a far greater exertion of effort will be demanded than hitherto.

Let me conclude with the hope that under no circumstances will we allow our Party to contract swelled head. (*Applause.*)

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Published according to the pamphlet

NOTES

[1] The non-party conference of the workers and Red Army men of Basmanny, Lefortovo, Alexeyevskoye and Sokolniki districts of Moscow was held September 3-4, 1919, about 3,000 people attending. The resolution adopted on Lenin's report said that the workers and peasants were in danger of being hurled back into most severe slavery under the yoke of landowners and capitalists and that only ruthless struggle against the enemies could thwart the danger (*Pravda* No. 195, September 4, 1919). The conference resolved to continue building up the Red Army, to strain every effort in developing all branches of the national economy, maintain revolutionary discipline, and carry out all the directives of the Soviet government faithfully and without fail. p. 19

[2] The *Kerensky period*—a period from May to October 1917 when the bourgeois Provisional Government headed by Kerensky, a Socialist-Revolutionary, was in power.

The *Kornilov revolt* was a counter-revolutionary conspiracy organised by the Russian bourgeoisie in August 1917 and headed by the tsarist general Kornilov. The conspirators, relying on higher army officers, hoped, with the aid of the officer cadets and Cossack units, to seize revolutionary Petrograd, smash the Bolshevik Party, disband the Soviets and establish a military dictatorship in the country. Answering the call of the Bolshevik Central Committee the Petrograd workers and revolutionary soldiers and sailors suppressed the Kornilov revolt. Under pressure from the masses the Provisional Government was forced to order Kornilov's arrest and to indict him and his accomplices for mutiny. The attempt by the bourgeoisie and the landowners to crush the revolution failed. After the defeat of the Kornilov revolt, the prestige of the Bolshevik Party among the masses grew rapidly; the Bolshevisation of the Soviets throughout the country began. The Bolsheviks again issued the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"

Kaledin—tsarist general and Cossack ataman who organised a counter-revolutionary revolt in the Don area at the end of 1917.

Kolchak—Admiral of the tsarist navy and a hireling of British, American and French imperialism; organised a counter-revolutionary uprising against Soviet Power. In November 1918 he proclaimed himself "Supreme Ruler of Russia", seized Siberia and established a military dictatorship. In 1919 the Kolchak army was

routed by the Red Army, and Soviet rule was restored throughout the territory occupied by Kolchak.

Denikin—tsarist general, headed the counter-revolutionary insurrection in the South of Russia and in the Ukraine. In the summer and autumn of 1919, aided by Britain, France and the U.S.A., Denikin ventured an offensive against the Soviet Republic from the South, heading for Moscow. By the beginning of 1920 Denikin's army had been defeated by the Red Army. p. 20

[3] *Smolny*—the building of the former Smolny Institute in Petrograd; in October 1917 the Bolshevik Central Committee and the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet were housed in it. After the revolution it was the seat of the Soviet Government until it moved to Moscow in March 1918. p. 21

[4] Lenin refers to the peace treaty between the Soviet Republic and the powers of the Quadruple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey), concluded on March 3, 1918 in Brest-Litovsk and ratified by the Extraordinary Fourth All-Russia Congress of Soviets on March 15. The peace terms were extremely harsh for Soviet Russia. Under the treaty, Poland, nearly all the Baltic area and part of Byelorussia were annexed to Germany and Austria-Hungary, and the Ukraine became a separate state dependent on Germany. Moreover, Soviet Russia had to pay considerable indemnities under a rapacious supplementary treaty and finance agreement imposed on her by Germany in August 1918.

Despite its harsh terms, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk gave the Soviet state a breathing-space, enabled it to demobilise the old, disintegrating army and create a new, Red Army, start socialist construction and build up the forces for the coming battles against internal counter-revolution and foreign intervention.

Trotsky and the anti-Party group of "Left Communists" stubbornly resisted the conclusion of the treaty and it was only thanks to Lenin's tremendous efforts that it was signed.

After the November revolution in Germany in 1918 the Brest Treaty was annulled. p. 22

[5] *Entente*—the imperialist bloc of Britain, France and tsarist Russia which took final shape in 1907, and was opposed to the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. The emergence of the Triple Entente was preceded by the conclusion of the Franco-Russian alliance of 1891-93 and the Anglo-French agreement of 1904. The formation of the Entente was concluded by the signing of the Anglo-Russian agreement in 1907. During the First World War the military and political alliance of Britain, France and Russia was joined by the United States, Japan, Italy and other countries. This alliance of imperialist powers, that later took part in the intervention against Soviet Russia, was known at the time as "the Entente"; this the meaning given to the word by Lenin. p. 22

[6] Lenin refers to the Treaty of Versailles which put an end to the First World War of 1914-18. It was signed in June 1919 between Britain, France, Italy, Japan on the one side and the defeated Germany, on the other.

The Versailles Treaty legalised the redivision of the world in favour of the victor countries. Germany had to pay huge reparations and indemnities in the form of a great number of ships, tens of millions of tons of coal, half of the country's stock of dyes and other chemicals, and so on.

The Versailles Treaty was a heavy burden for the German people. They had to pay high taxes and suffered chronic unemployment. As far as the German imperialists and heavy industry magnates were concerned, they retained their dominant position in the country and continued to extract colossal profits. p. 22

[7] The *Siberian Government* was formed on June 30, 1918 in Omsk with the aid of the British, French and American interventionists. Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and Cadets participated in the government. Under the guise of hypocritical phrases about democracy it pursued a counter-revolutionary policy. It returned factories, commercial enterprises and landed estates to their former owners, repealed the eight-hour working day, introduced courts martial, passed a decision on the dissolution and prohibition of the Soviets, repealed the Soviet Government's decrees and enforced the laws of the tsarist and the bourgeois provisional governments. The rout of the counter-revolutionary and interventionist armies by the Red Army in 1919 put an end to the Siberian Government. p. 22

[8] This refers to the counter-revolutionary revolt of the Czechoslovak Army Corps organised by the Entente imperialists with the active participation of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The Czechoslovak Corps was formed in Russia prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution from Czech and Slovak prisoners of war. After the establishment of Soviet power in Russia the president of the Czechoslovak National Council, Tomáš Masaryk, proclaimed the Corps part of the French army, and representatives of the Entente raised the question of its evacuation to France. The Soviet Government agreed to send it to France through Vladivostok on the condition that it surrendered its arms. But the counter-revolutionary commanders of the Corps violated the agreement with the Soviet Government and at the end of May 1918 began an insurrection against Soviet power. The governments of the U.S.A., Britain and France supported the insurrection. French officers took part in it openly. Acting in close contact with the whiteguards and kulaks, the Czechoslovak Corps seized a large part of the Urals, the Volga area and Siberia, everywhere restoring bourgeois rule. Whiteguard governments were formed in the occupied districts, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries participating—the so-called Siberian Government in Omsk, the Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly in Samara and others.

Soon after the outbreak of the insurrection, on June 11, the Central Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist groups in Russia issued an appeal to the soldiers of the Corps in which it exposed the counter-revolutionary nature of the insurrection and called upon Czech and Slovak workers and peasants to suppress the revolt and to enrol in the Czechoslovak units of the Red Army. About 12,000 Czech and Slovak soldiers fought in the ranks of the Red Army.

In autumn 1918 the Red Army liberated the Volga area. The Czechoslovak revolt was finally suppressed in 1919 when the Kolchak revolt was crushed. p. 22

[9] *Le Titre censuré!!!* (Title Forbidden!!!)—a weekly newspaper published in Paris by Georges Anquetil from April 19 to June 21, 1919. Altogether ten issues were published. Beginning with issue No. 8 it co-operated with *Le Titre enchaîné* (Fettered Title) and offered some of its pages to the latter.

Le Titre censuré published mainly Anquetil's articles or reprints from other newspapers. p. 25

[10] This refers to the appeal "To the Workers of Estonia from the Petrograd Soviet" published in connection with the arrival in Petrograd of the Workers banished from Estonia, and to the radio message to the Estonian Government of September 3, 1919. p. 25

[11] Lenin apparently refers to Churchill's speech, a report on which was published in the Swedish newspaper *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* No. 195, August 25, 1919. It stated that Winston Churchill, the Secretary of State for War, had spoken about the preparations for an offensive against Soviet Russia by the armies of fourteen states. In his opinion, the offensive might begin at the end of August or in the beginning of September and end by the New Year. He hoped that Latvia, Estonia and Finland, would participate in the campaign (America was to deliver the supplies).

The ROSTA telegraph agency text of Churchill's speech which differs slightly from the newspaper report has the following list of fourteen states made by Lenin: Britain, the U.S.A., France, Italy, Japan, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and in parentheses "Kolchakia and Denikia" (*Lenin Miscellany XXIV*, p. 197). p. 26

[12] *Vorwärts* (Forward)—a daily newspaper, Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Party. In accordance with a decision of the Halle Congress of the party, it was published in Berlin from 1891 under the name of *Vorwärts Berliner Volksblatt* as a continuation of the newspaper *Berliner Volksblatt* issued since 1884. Engels used the columns of this paper to combat all manifestations of opportunism. In the late nineties, after the death of Engels, *Vorwärts* was controlled by the Right wing of the party and regularly published articles by opportunists. During the First World War *Vorwärts*

took a social-chauvinist stand; after the Great October Socialist Revolution the paper carried on anti-Soviet propaganda. It was published in Berlin till 1933.

Lenin refers to Friedrich Stampfer's article "Kautsky gegen Spartakus" published in *Vorwärts* No. 457 of September 7, 1919. p. 27

[13] *Scheidemann*—one of the leaders of the extreme Right, opportunist wing of German Social-Democracy. In February-June 1919 he was the head of the coalition government of the Weimar republic. He was one of those who organised the suppression of the German workers' movement which was drowned in blood between 1918 and 1921. p. 27

[14] *Berne International* is the name given to a union of the social-chauvinist and Centrist parties formed at the conference in Berne in February 1919 with the aim of restoring the Second International. p. 28

[15] See record of Karl Marx's speech on the Barry Mandate (*Minutes of the Hague Congress of 1872*, Madison, 1958); Engels's Preface to the English edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Preface to the second German edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*; Engels's letters to Marx of September 24, 1852 and of October 7, 1858; letters by Engels to Sorge of September 21, 1872 and of October 5, 1872; Marx's letter to Sorge of August 4, 1874; Engels's letter to Marx of August 11, 1881; Engels's letters to Kautsky of September 12, 1882 and to Sorge of December 7, 1889. p. 34

[16] In 1919 two Communist Parties were founded in the U.S.A.—their core was the Left wing of the Socialist Party—the Communist Labour Party headed by John Reed and the Communist Party of the United States headed by Charles Ruthenberg. The two parties had no programme disagreements. Both parties passed decisions at their inaugural congresses on affiliation to the Third International. In May 1921 they united to form one Communist Party. At the end of the Second World War the Communist Party of the United States suffered a severe crisis as a result of the anti-party activity of Earl Browder who advocated the theory of "American exceptionalism" and of establishment of "class peace" in the U.S.A. In 1944 he succeeded in carrying through a decision on the substitution of the non-party Communist Political Association for the Communist Party. Thanks to the efforts of the Marxist core of the party the Communist Party of the United States was restored in July 1945. From the first days of its existence the Communist Party suffered persecution which was intensified after the Second World War. p. 35

[17] The *Committee for the Re-establishment of International Contacts* was formed in January 1916 by French internationalists. This was the first attempt to set up in France an internationalist revolutionary organisation of socialists to counterbalance the social-chauvinist organisations. Lenin regarded the Committee as a

factor in rallying the internationalist forces; he proposed that Inessa Armand participate in the Committee.

Under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia and the growth of the French labour movement, the Committee became the centre of the revolutionary internationalist forces in France, and in 1920 merged with the Communist Party of France.

The *Syndicalist Defence Committee* was formed in autumn of 1916 by a group of syndicalists who broke away from the Committee for the Re-establishment of International Contacts because they rejected parliamentary activity. In May 1919 it resolved to join the Communist International. p. 35

[18] *L'Internationale*—a weekly newspaper of the French syndicalists, organ of the Syndicalist Defence Committee, appeared in Paris from February to July 1919; edited by Raymond Péricat. p. 35

[19] The *British Socialist Party* was founded at Manchester in 1911 by the union of the Social-Democratic Party with other socialist groups. The B.S.P. conducted its agitation in the spirit of Marxism, it was not opportunist and was *really* independent of the Liberals" (see present edition, Vol. 19, p. 273). The small membership of the party and its poor contacts with the masses made for a certain sectarianism.

During the First World War there was a sharp struggle between the internationalists (William Gallacher, Albert Inkpin, John Maclean, Theodore Rothstein and others) and the social-chauvinist trend headed by Hyndman. Some of the internationalists followed an inconsistent policy and adopted a Centrist position on certain questions.

In February 1916, a group of B.S.P. members founded a newspaper, *The Call*, which played an important part in mustering the internationalists. In April 1916, the party's annual conference, held at Salford, condemned the social-chauvinist position of Hyndman and his supporters, and they left the party.

The British Socialist Party welcomed the October Revolution, and its members were active in the British workers' movement in defence of Soviet Russia against the interventionists. In 1919 most of the party's local organisations (98 against 4) voted for affiliation to the Communist International. The B.S.P., together with the Communist Unity Group, formed the core of the Communist Party of Great Britain. At the First (Unity) Congress in 1920 almost all local B.S.P. organisations entered the Communist Party. p. 35

[20] The *Shop Stewards Committees* and *Workers' Committees*—elected working-class organisations which were set up at many factories in Britain during the First World War. In conditions of the rise of the workers' movement and the mounting dissatisfaction with the reformist policy of the trade union leaders, the shop stewards, united in district and town committees and in the National Committee, led strikes for the improvement of the workers' living conditions

and carried out propaganda against the imperialist war. The centre of the shop stewards' movement was the Clydeside where the Clydeside Workers' Committee was set up, a body whose influence was felt by all the workers of that district. The programme of the Clydeside Committee called for the organisation of the workers on a class principle and the continuation of the struggle until the wage-labour system was completely abolished. Similar committees sprang up in other towns.

In the period of foreign armed intervention against the Soviet Republic, the Shop Stewards Committees came out actively in support of Soviet Russia. A number of leaders of the shop stewards' movement (William Gallacher, Harry Pollitt, Arthur McManus and others) became founder members of the C.P.G.B. Lenin described the shop stewards' movement as a mass and profoundly proletarian movement. p. 35

[21] The *Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland* (known as the Socialist Party) was founded in the 1870s and affiliated to the First International; a new party was founded in 1888. The party was strongly influenced by opportunists, who took a social-chauvinist position during the First World War. In the autumn of 1916 the Right wing broke away from the Party and founded its own organisation. The party majority, led by Robert Grimm, followed a Centrist social-pacifist policy. The Left wing adhered to the internationalist stand. After the October Revolution in Russia the Left wing became much more influential. In December 1920 the Left withdrew from the party and in 1921 merged with the Communist Party of Switzerland. p. 35

[22] The *Socialist Party of Italy* was founded in 1892 and from the very start was the scene of a sharp struggle on all basic political and tactical issues between the opportunist and revolutionary trends. At its Congress in Reggio-Emilia (1912), the more outspoken reformists, who supported the war and co-operation with the government and the bourgeoisie (Ivanoe Bonomi, Leonida Bissolati and others), were expelled from the party under pressure from the Left. Prior to Italy's entry into the First World War, the party opposed war and advocated neutrality. In December 1914 it expelled a group of renegades (among them Mussolini) for supporting the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie and urging Italy's entry into the war. In May 1915, when Italy did enter the war on the side of the Entente, the party split into three distinct factions: (1) the Right wing, which helped the bourgeoisie prosecute the war, (2) the Centrists, who made up the majority of the party and pursued the policy of "non-participation in the war and no sabotage of the war", and (3) the Left wing, which took a more resolute stand against the war, but failed to organise a consistent struggle against it. The Lefts did not realise the necessity to convert the imperialist war into a civil war, or to break resolutely with the reformists. The Italian socialists held a joint conference with the Swiss socialists in Lugano (1914), took part in the international socialist conferences at Zim-

merwald (1915) and Kienthal (1916), where they sided with the Centrist majority.

After the October Socialist Revolution in Russia the Left wing of the Italian Socialist Party became more influential. The 16th party congress, held October 5-8, 1919 in Bologna, passed a decision to join the Third International. The I.S.P. delegates took part in the Second Congress of the Communist International. After the Congress, Serrati, head of the delegation and a Centrist, declared against the break with the reformists. In January 1921, at the 17th party congress in Livorno the Centrists who were in the majority refused to break with the reformists and to recognise all the terms of admittance to the Communist International. On January 21 the Left-wing delegates left the congress and founded the Communist Party of Italy. p. 35

[23] *Spartacists*—members of a revolutionary organisation of German Left Social-Democrats formed at the beginning of the First World War by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, Julian Marchlewski, Léon Jogiches (Jan Tyszka) and Wilhelm Pieck. They carried on revolutionary propaganda among the people, organised mass anti-war manifestations, led strikes, and exposed the imperialist character of the world war and the treachery of the opportunist leaders of Social-Democracy. The Spartacists, however, made grave blunders in certain important questions of theory and practical policy. Lenin criticised the errors of the German Left Social-Democrats many a time, thus helping them to take the correct position (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 305-19 and Vol. 23, pp. 77-87.

In April 1917, the Spartacists joined the Centrist Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany in which they retained their organisational independence. In November 1918, in the course of the revolution in Germany, however, they formed the Spartacus League, published their own programme on December 14, 1918 and broke with the Independents. At its inaugural congress, held from December 30, 1918 to January 1, 1919, the Spartacists founded the Communist Party of Germany. p. 35

[24] *La Feuille*—a daily newspaper published in Geneva from August 1917 to 1920. Its editor was Jean Debrit. The newspaper did not formally belong to any party, but in fact it adhered to the positions of the Second International. p. 36

[25] This article was written in connection with the beginning of the mobilisation of the Petrograd Communists for the front. During the foreign military intervention and the Civil War there were a number of such mobilisations. Lenin wrote, "We concentrated our best Party forces in the Red Army; we mobilised the best of our workers; we looked for new forces at the deepest roots of our dictatorship" (see present edition, Vol. 33, "How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection").

In view of the difficult situation of the Southern Front the plenary meeting of the C.C., R.C.P.(B:), held September 21 and 26, 1919 resolved to mobilise Communists and send the best Party and working-class people to the front. The Party Central Committee in its letter published in *Bulletin of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.)* No. 6, September 30, 1919 pointed out that Communists should be sent to the front from those institutions where they might be replaced by non-party workers, women and ex-servicemen disabled in the Civil War. The Communist Party appeal met with a warm response among the working people. The Petrograd Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) decided to mobilise 1,200 Communists for the Southern Front. That same day the first group of mobilised Petrograd Communists left for the front, the second group on the following day and the third on October 2. Mobilisation continued during the following days. On October 2, Lenin sent a telegram of greetings to the Petrograd workers in which he praised them for energetic measures in rendering assistance to the Southern Front. Between September and November the Petrograd Party organisation dispatched for the front over 4,000 Communists, of whom 1,800 were assigned to leading posts in the army. p. 47

[26] The *Chicago Daily News* correspondent I. Levin, who was in Soviet Russia, asked Lenin to answer five questions. The questions and Lenin's answers were published in the *Chicago Daily News* No. 257, October 27, 1919. p. 50

[27] Lenin refers to peace talks with William Bullitt who came to Soviet Russia in March 1919 to discuss the possible terms of peace treaties between Soviet Russia and the Allies, and the whiteguard governments then existing on the territory of Russia. Bullitt submitted the proposals put forward by President Woodrow Wilson and Prime Minister Lloyd George.

Guided by the desire to conclude peace as soon as possible, the Soviet Government agreed to negotiate, and introduced a number of amendments and addenda to the proposals put forward by the U.S.A. and Britain, after which a final joint draft was prepared.

Soon after Bullitt's departure from Soviet Russia Kolchak's army launched an offensive, and the imperialist governments refused to accept the Soviet proposals in the hope that Soviet Russia would be defeated. Wilson prohibited the publication of the draft agreement brought by Bullitt, and Lloyd George announced in Parliament that he had not authorised anyone to negotiate with the Soviet Government. p. 50

[28] *Die Rote Fahne* (The Red Flag)—a newspaper founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg as the Central Organ of the Spartacus League, later it became the Central Organ of the Communist Party of Germany. The newspaper was published in Berlin from November 9, 1918; it was repeatedly subjected to persecution and banned by the German authorities.

Die Rote Fahne played an important part in the struggle to make the Communist Party of Germany a mass proletarian revolutionary party and to purge it of opportunist elements. The newspaper carried on extensive propaganda against the militarisation of the country and for unity of action of the working class in the struggle against fascism. Ernst Thälmann, Chairman of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany, was a frequent contributor. When Hitler came to power in 1933 the newspaper was banned, but continued publication illegally and resolutely protested against the fascist regime. In 1935 it began to be published in Prague from October 1936 to the autumn of 1939 *Die Rote Fahne* was published in Brussels. p. 53

[29] The *Basle Manifesto* was adopted at an international socialist congress (the Emergency Congress of the Second International), convened in November 1912 in Basle to voice the protest against the Balkan war and the preparations for a world imperialist war. The resolution (Manifesto) called upon the socialists of all countries to "prevent the outbreak of war". "The workers consider it a crime to shoot each other down in the interest and for the profit of capitalism, for the sake of dynastic honour and of diplomatic secret treaties," the Basle Manifesto declared. In the event of imperialist war breaking out, socialists "shall be bound to intervene for its being brought to a speedy end, and to employ all their forces for utilising the economical and political crisis created by the war, in order to rouse the masses of people and to hasten the downbreak of the predominance of the capitalist class".

When the world imperialist war broke out in July 1914, the majority of leaders of the socialist parties of the Second International betrayed the cause of socialism, went back on the Basle resolution and sided with their imperialist governments. The Russian Bolsheviks led by Lenin, as well as German Left Social-Democrats (Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and others) and some groups in other socialist parties, remained true to the principles of internationalism and, in conformity with the Basle Manifesto, called upon the workers of their countries to fight against their own imperialist governments and against the imperialist war. p. 53

[30] *Party Week* was conducted in accordance with the decision of the Eighth Party Congress to enlarge the Party membership. It was carried out in a period of the intense struggle of the Soviet state against foreign military intervention and internal counter-revolution. "To get our Party card in such conditions signified, to a certain extent, becoming a candidate to the Denikin gallows," wrote *Bulletin of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.)* No. 8, December 2, 1919. The first Party Week was held by the Petrograd Party organisation from August 10 to 17 (the second Party Week took place in October-November 1919); the Party Week in the Moscow Gubernia Party organisation was conducted from September 20 to 28. At the end of September the Central Committee sent a circular letter to all Party organisations, in which it stated that as the re-registration and purge was over in

almost all Party organisations the C.C. considered it opportune to start admitting new members to the Party. The C.C. stressed that only men and women workers, Red Army men, sailors and peasant men and women should be admitted to the Party during Party Week. In 38 gubernias of the European part of the R.S.F.S.R. alone Party Week brought over 200,000 new members, of whom more than half were workers. At the front up to 25 per cent of the army and navy personnel joined the Party. Lenin wrote that workers and peasants who entered the Party at such a difficult period made up "a fine and reliable body of leaders of the revolutionary proletariat and of the non-exploiting section of the peasantry" (see p. 404 of this volume). p. 63

[31] The re-registration of Party members was held in May-September 1919 by decision of the Eighth Party Congress which pointed to its necessity and to the need for special measures of control in respect to those members who joined the Party after the October Socialist Revolution. For this purpose a special instruction was worked out by the Central Committee. It said, "The aim of the re-registration is to purge the Party of non-Communist elements, chiefly of persons who wormed their way into the Party because it is the ruling party and who use their position of Party members in their own interests" (Pravda No. 88, April 24, 1919). During re-registration Party members were to return their Party cards, fill in the questionnaires, and submit the recommendations of two Party members who had been in the Party for not less than six months and whom the Party Committee knew to be reliable Communists. The admittance of new members to the Party was discontinued during re-registration. Party members who were convicted of behaviour unworthy of Communists, or who violated Party decisions, or did not pay Party dues, or who proved to be deserters were liable to expulsion. This re-registration was the first purge of the Party. As a result Party discipline was strengthened, the Party links with the masses grew stronger and the membership and the fighting capacity of the Party improved. p. 63

[32] The *Polish Socialist Party* (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna)—a reformist nationalist organisation founded in 1892.

In 1906 the party split into the P.S.P. Left wing and the Right, chauvinist wing (the so-called "revolutionary faction"). Under the influence of the Bolsheviks and the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, the Left wing gradually adopted a consistent revolutionary stand.

During the First World War a considerable section of the P.S.P. Left wing adopted an internationalist stand. In December 1918 it united with the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania to form the Communist Workers' Party of Poland. The P.S.P. Right wing continued its policy of national chauvinism, and, after the establishment of the Polish bourgeois state (1918), the Right P.S.P. formed the Polish bourgeois government and supported the policy

of the aggressive circles who started a war against Soviet Russia in 1920. In 1919 the Right P.S.P. resumed the name of P.S.P.

After Pilsudski's fascist coup d'état (May 1926), the P.S.P. was nominally a parliamentary opposition, but actually it did not carry on any active fight against the fascist regime, and continued its anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda. During that period the Left-wing elements of the P.S.P. collaborated with the Polish Communists.

During the Second World War the P.S.P. again split. Its reactionary and chauvinist faction, which assumed the name "*Wolność*, *Równość*, *Niepodległość*" (Liberty, Equality, Independence), took part in the reactionary Polish émigré government in London. The Left faction, which called itself the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists, under the influence of the Polish Workers' Party (P.W.P.), which was founded in 1942, joined the popular front against the nazi invaders, fought for Poland's liberation, and pursued a policy of friendly relations with the U.S.S.R.

In 1944, after the liberation of Poland's eastern territories and the formation of a Polish Committee of National Liberation, the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists resumed the name of P.S.P. and together with the P.W.P. participated in the building up of a people's democratic Poland. In December 1948 the P.W.P. and the P.S.P. amalgamated and formed the Polish United Workers' Party. p. 79

[33] The Communist Party of Germany split at its Second Congress, held in October 1919, in Heidelberg. It was attended by 46 delegates representing 16,000 party members. The Congress recognised the error of the boycott tactics of the elections to the Constituent Assembly and passed a decision to take part in parliamentary elections. A group of the "Lefts" came out at the Congress against its decisions and in defence of anarcho-syndicalist views—the boycott of parliament, repudiation of the political struggle, refusal to work in reactionary trade unions and so on. The "Lefts" were in the minority and were expelled from the party, after which they founded the so-called Communist Workers' Party of Germany. Subsequently the C.W.P.G. became an insignificant sectarian group without any influence in the working class. Simultaneously with this letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany Lenin sent a letter to the breakaway group too (see pp. 89-90 of this volume). p. 87

[34] This article is apparently a draft of a pamphlet planned but not written by Lenin. p. 93

[35] Lenin refers to Karl Marx's letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of March 5, 1852 (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1955, p. 85). p. 95

[36] Lenin refers to Karl Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of December 13, 1870 (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1955, p. 307). p. 97

[37] Lenin refers to Engels's letter to August Bebel of March 18-28, 1875 (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1955, p. 353). p. 98

[38] Lenin refers to Engels's letter to August Bebel of March 18-28 1875 (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1955, pp. 356-57). p. 99

[39] See Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1954, Part I, Philosophy. Chapter X, pp. 134-49. p. 99

[40] See Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Moscow, Chapter IX, Barbarism and Civilisation, pp. 307-27. p. 100

[41] Lenin refers to statements by Marx and Engels in the period between 1852 and 1892 concerning the development of the upper stratum of the working class into bourgeois (references are given in Note 15). p. 102

[42] Lenin refers to Marx's address to the Hague Congress of the First International in September 1872. Engels wrote about it in letters to Sorge of September 21 and October 5, 1872. p. 102

[43] The Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. was adopted on July 10, 1918 by the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets. Its Clause 23 reads as follows, "Prompted by the interests of the working class as a whole, the R.S.F.S.R. deprives of rights certain individuals and certain groups who use such rights to the detriment of the socialist revolution." This clause remained in force till the Eighth (Extraordinary) Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. which in 1936 adopted a new Constitution according to which all citizens were granted equal rights to elect and be elected to the Soviets. p. 104

[44] This article remained unfinished. p. 117

[45] *Bednota* (The Poor)—a daily for the peasants published in Moscow from March 1918 to January 1931. p. 124

[46] Lenin refers to the *All-Russia Executive Committee of the Railwaymen's Trade Union* (*Vikzhel*) elected at the First (Inaugural) All-Russia Congress of Railwaymen held in Moscow in July-August 1917. The Railwaymen's Executive Committee was dominated by Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. After the October Revolution, the Railwaymen's Executive became one of the centres of counter-revolution. In January 1918 the All-Russia Extraordinary Congress of Railwaymen dismissed the Vikzhel and elected the central body of the railwaymen's union called Vikzhedor, which was composed mainly of Bolsheviks. p. 130

[47] This letter was written by Lenin in connection with the dispatch to Turkestan of a commission of the All-Russian Central Executive

Committee and the Council of People's Commissars. The commission included G. I. Bokia, F. I. Goloshchokin, V. V. Kuibyshev, Y. E. Rudzutak, M. V. Frunze and S. Z. Eliava. It was vested with the powers of a state and Party body. Its main tasks were to strengthen the union of the peoples of Turkestan with Soviet Russia, to consolidate Soviet power, to rectify mistakes in the national policy in Turkestan, and to improve Party work. The members of the commission were to follow the instruction of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of October 8, 1919, which pointed out that self-determination of the peoples of Turkestan and the abolition of all national inequality and of the privileges of one nationality group at the expense of another form the basis of the policy of the Soviet Government of Russia and serve as the guiding principle in the entire work of all its bodies. Only by such work can we overcome the old mistrust of the local working masses of Turkestan for the workers and peasants of Russia due to the many years of the rule of Russian tsarism. The working people of Turkestan welcomed this decision of the All-Russia C.E.O. and C.P.C. The joint meeting of the Territorial Committee of the Communist Party of Turkestan, Territorial Moslem Bureau of the C.P.T. and the Presidium of the Turkestan C.E.C. studied Lenin's letter and heard the report by Eliava, chairman of the commission, and adopted a resolution, which read as follows: "We promise to carry out all the tasks with which history has presented us in accordance with the instructions of the C.C. of our Party and the Third International." In January 1920 Lenin's letter was discussed at the Fifth General Territorial Conference of the Communist Party of Turkestan. The Conference sent a letter to Lenin in which the Communists promised to rectify their blunders and render unanimous support to the Turkestan commission. p. 138

[48] The Central Committee's letter was drafted by Lenin, and was published in *Pravda* on November 13. The appeal of the C.C. of the Party met with a warm response in the country. On November 14 the Communists of Red Presnya district in Moscow adopted a decision to hold a "fuel week" of communist labour and instructed all Party members to take part in subbotniks. The Moscow City Party Committee mobilised 200 Communists to the fuel front on November 18. The Vladimir Gubernia Party Conference resolved to send hundreds of worker Communists to the countryside to mobilise the local population to supply fuel and horses to deliver it to the cities. Labour enthusiasm in organising fuel supplies that swept the cities spread to the countryside. The week from November 24 to December 1 was proclaimed "fuel week" by the Red Army. Measures adopted by the Party led to the easing of the fuel crisis. In October an average of 1,941 wagons were loaded per day and in December this figure rose to 2,895 wagonloads. p. 139

[49] The *First All-Russia Conference on Party Work in the Countryside* was held from November 16 to November 19, 1919, in Moscow.

Representatives of all gubernia and regional Party Committees (except Orenburg, Urals, Don, Orel, Voronezh, Astrakhan and Archangel) and from many uyezd and some volost Party Committees attended the Conference. The Conference was convened for the purpose of pooling experience of Party work in the countryside and for working out practical measures for its improvement. The agenda of the Conference was the following: reports by local Party organisations, report on organisational questions, work among peasant women and the peasant youth, cultural and educational work in the countryside, a newspaper for peasants, publishing literature for the countryside, Party Week in the countryside, and others.

The Conference approved the proposal submitted by the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) Rural Department to muster Party forces for work among the peasants, and also adopted, with some amendments, a draft instruction for work in the countryside. The Conference pointed out the necessity of drawing women into all spheres of state organisation, and of drawing peasant youths into the All-Russia Communist Youth League. The Conference passed a decision to hold a Party Week in the countryside, and approved of the practice of convening non-party conferences.

On the first day the Conference adopted a decision to ask Lenin to take part in the Conference. Lenin made a speech at the Conference on November 18, in which he congratulated the delegates on the occasion of the liberation of Kursk by the Red Army. p. 143

[50] The *Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.*(*B.*) was held March 18-23, 1919 in Moscow. One of the most important questions discussed at the Congress was the attitude towards the middle peasants. In all his speeches and particularly in his report on work in the countryside, Lenin explained the Party's new policy in relation to the middle peasants—passing from the policy of neutralising the middle peasants to one of firm alliance with them, while relying on the poor peasants and carrying the struggle against the kulaks, and preserving the leading role of the proletariat in that alliance. That slogan had been advanced by Lenin in November 1918. The Congress adopted a "Resolution on the Attitude Towards the Middle Peasants" written by Lenin. Lenin's policy helped to strengthen the military and political alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and played a decisive role in achieving victory over the interventionists and whiteguards, and later on in building socialism by the joint efforts of workers and peasants. p. 144

[51] This Congress was held in Moscow from November 22 to December 3, 1919, on the initiative of the Central Bureau of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East at the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). On the eve of the Congress, November 21, a preliminary meeting of the Central Committee members with a group of delegates was held with Lenin presiding. The Congress was attended by 71 delegates with the right to vote and by 11 delegates with voice but no vote. On the opening day of the Congress, November 22, Lenin delivered a

report on the current situation. The resolution adopted on his report was submitted to the presidium "for concretisation and drafting of the chief theses that should serve as a basis for work in the East". The Congress heard the report on the work of the Central Bureau of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East, reports from the localities, the reports of the Central Moslem War Collegium, Central Moslem Commissariat of the People's Commissariat of Nationalities; it discussed the national question of the Bashkirs and Tatars and heard reports of sections on state organisation and Party work, on work among women in the East and among the youth, etc. The Congress outlined the tasks of the Party and the government in the East, and elected a new Central Bureau of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East. p. 151

[52] This resolution was based on theses written by Lenin. On November 21, 1910, the Political Bureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) discussed the theses and submitted them to a commission for final editing. On the basis of the theses the commission drafted the resolution which, with the addition of Clause 2 introduced by Lenin, was adopted by the plenary meeting of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on November 29, 1919 and later endorsed by the Eighth All-Russia Party Conference. p. 163

[53] On May 18, 1819 the joint meeting of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Kiev Soviet of Workers' Deputies, trade unions, factory committees and the Kiev Uyezd Congress of Peasant Deputies passed a resolution which stressed the necessity of uniting all the forces of the Soviet Republics for the armed struggle against the enemies of Soviet power and of concentrating material resources at a single centre. The Ukrainian C.E.C. instructed its Presidium to submit a proposal to the All-Russia C.E.C. "to work out concrete forms for the organisation of a united front of revolutionary struggle". Similar proposals were submitted by the Soviet governments of Latvia, Lithuania and Byelorussia.

In compliance with the wishes expressed by the supreme bodies of Soviet Republics the All-Russia Central Executive Committee adopted a decree on June 1, 1919 "On the Union of the Soviet Republics of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and Byelorussia for the Struggle Against World Imperialism". The decree said that, while fully recognising the independence, freedom and self-determination of the working people of the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia and the Crimea ... the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets considers it necessary to effect a close amalgamation of (1) military organisation and army command, (2) economic councils, (3) railways, (4) finances and (5) commissariats of labour of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia and the Crimea so as to concentrate the management of these branches in single bodies."

This military and political alliance of the Soviet Socialist Republics was of tremendous significance in promoting victory over the interventionists and the internal counter-revolution. p. 163

[54] The Conference was held in Moscow, and was attended by 45 delegates with the right to vote. The agenda consisted of the following items: (1) Report of the C.C., (2) Report on the international situation; (3) The agenda of the Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets (state organisation); (4) Soviet power in the Ukraine; (5) The Party Rules; (6) Work with new Party members; (7) Fuel question.

Lenin directed the work of the Conference. He made a speech at the opening session, delivered the political report of the C.C. of the Party and closed the debate on it. Lenin spoke on Soviet power in the Ukraine and closed the discussion on this subject. The Conference delegates unanimously approved the C.C. political line and organisational work. Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, delivered a detailed report on the international situation explaining the foreign policy of the Soviet state and the efforts being made for the immediate conclusion of peace. Another important question discussed at the Conference was state organisation. M. F. Vladimirsky made a report on this subject on behalf of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) and T. V. Sapronov delivered a co-report. Vladimirsky summed up the results in organising the Soviet state and submitted concrete proposals for amending the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. Sapronov, Osinsky and their adherents opposed the C.C. line; they rejected one-man management and demanded preservation of "the unlimited corporate principle". This group of opportunists tried to impose their views on the Conference which would have undermined centralism and the leading role of the Party in the Soviets. The Conference rejected the views of Sapronov and his followers as being contrary to the interests of the Party, and approved Lenin's principle of democratic centralism in the organisation of government bodies and in the interrelations of those bodies.

The Conference adopted a number of decisions directed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and at involving working masses in Soviet state development.

The Conference adopted new Party Rules which contained a new section on "Candidates to Party Membership" introducing a probationary period for all new members, the length of which depended on social category; it was two months for factory workers and peasants, and no less than six months for other categories. A new section on "Groups in the Extra-Party Institutions and Organisations" was added to the Party Rules in order to spread Party influence to the extra-Party organisations and institutions, conduct them in accordance with the Party line and establish Party control over their activities. The new Party Rules had a special section on "Party Discipline", which stated that strict observance of Party discipline was the prime duty of all Party members and all Party organisations.

The Conference approved the "Theses on the Employment of New Party Members" which outlined measures to raise the educational and ideological level of Communists, give them military training, and strengthen Party discipline. The Eighth Party Conference was of great significance; it summed up the experience gained by the

Party in the two-year struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and implement the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress. The decisions of the Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets were based on the Conference's decisions on state, economic and military organisation. p. 167

[55] Lenin refers to the Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets held from December 5 to 9, 1919 in Moscow. p. 169

[56] *l'Humanité*—a daily newspaper founded in 1904 by Jean Jaurès as the organ of the French Socialist Party. During the First World War the paper was controlled by the extreme Right wing of the French Socialist Party and took a social-chauvinist stand. In December 1920, after the split of the French Socialist Party, it became the Central Organ of the Communist Party of France. p. 172

[57] Lenin refers to *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* a newspaper of the Swedish Left Social-Democrats, who in 1911 founded the Left Social-Democratic Party of Sweden. It was published in Stockholm from April 1916, at first every other day, subsequently, daily (up to November 1917 it appeared under the name *Politiken*). In 1918-19 it was edited by Fredrik Ström. In 1921 the Left Social-Democratic Party joined the Communist International and became the Communist Party of Sweden, and the newspaper became its Central Organ. After the Communist Party of Sweden split in October 1929 the newspaper was taken over by the Right wing. Its publication ceased in May 1945. p. 174

[58] Lenin refers to the article "Finland and the Bolshevists", published in *The Times* No. 42239 on October 24, 1919. p. 174

[59] *Rech* (Speech)—a daily published in St. Petersburg from February 23 (March 8), 1906, as the Central Organ of the Constitutional-Democratic Party. Its actual editors wore P. N. Milyukov and I. V. Hessen, and its close collaborators were M. M. Vinaver, P. D. Dolgorukov, P. B. Struve and others. After the bourgeois-democratic revolution in February 1917 it actively supported the home and foreign policy of the Provisional Government and conducted a vicious campaign of slander against Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. The newspaper was closed on October 26 (November 8), 1917 by the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. p. 174

[60] This refers to the resolution of the Ninth Council of the S.R. Party "On the Attitude to the Red Army" published in the Supplement to *Listok Dyela Naroda* No. 2. p. 178

[61] Lenin refers to N. P. Rostopchin's article "Peasants' Non-Party Conferences" published in *Pravda* No. 260 on November 20, 1919. p. 187

[62] The Draft Instructions to Gubernia, Uyezd and Volost Committees of the R.C.P. on Work in the Countryside were drawn up by the relevant department of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) and published for

discussion in *Bulletin of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.)* on September 20 1919; it defined the duties of local Party organisers who were to secure help for local peasants from neighbouring state farms and farming co-operatives. The draft was adopted with slight amendments by the First All-Russia Conference on Party Work in the Countryside and finally endorsed by the Eighth All-Russia Conference of the R.C.P.(B.). p. 189

[63] The draft resolution on Foreign policy was written by Lenin at the session of the Eighth All-Russia Conference of the R.C.P.(B.) December 2, 1919. It was adopted by the Conference with slight amendments and afterwards (on December 5) read out by Lenin in his report at the Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets (see p. 231 of this volume), which adopted it unanimously as a peace proposal to the countries of the Entente. The resolution of the Congress was published in the press on December 6, 1919.

The peace proposal of the Congress was sent to the Entente powers on December 10, 1919. The governments of Britain, France, the U.S.A. and Italy refused to examine it. p. 191

[64] *Borotba* Party—a petty-bourgeois nationalist party formed in May 1918 after the split in the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Party. The party took its name from the newspaper *Borotba* (Struggle), its Central Organ. (See Note 88.) p. 193

[65] The *First Congress of Agricultural Communes and Agricultural Artels* was convened by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and was held December 3-10, 1919 in Moscow. The Congress was attended by 140 delegates, of whom 93 were Communists. Lenin spoke on the second day of the Congress. The Congress adopted the Rules of the All-Russia Association of Agricultural Producers' Collectives (Communes and Artels) which were later endorsed by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture. The Rules stated that the main objects of the Association were the union of all agricultural collectives in a single producers' association, propaganda of the idea of collective farming and practical help for the neighbouring peasantry, especially the poor peasants and the families of Red Army men. p. 195

[66] The *thousand-million-ruble fund* was established by a decree of the Council of People's Commissars dated November 2, 1918 "for the purpose of improving and developing agriculture and for its speediest reconstruction on socialist lines". Grants and loans from this fund were given to farming communes, producers' co-operatives and village societies and groups of peasants, provided they went over to collective farming. The People's Commissars of Agriculture and of Finance elaborated detailed rules for granting loans to develop agriculture (see *Izvestia* No. 42, February 23, 1919). p. 195

[67] *The Statute on Socialist Land Settlement and the Measures for the Transition to Socialist Farming* was adopted by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee in February 1919. It took for its basis the decisions of the First All-Russia Congress of Land

Departments, Poor Peasants' Committees and Communes held December 1918. Lenin directly participated in drafting and editing the Statute. It outlined a number of measures for the reconstruction of agriculture on a socialist basis, for raising agricultural productivity and extending the areas under crops. The Statute reads, "In order to put an end to all exploitation of man by man, to reconstruct agriculture on a socialist basis, to apply all the achievements of science and technology, to educate the working masses in the spirit of socialism and to unite the proletariat and poor peasants in their struggle against capital, it is necessary to go over from individual to collective forms of land tenure. Large state farms and communes, collective tilling and other types of collective work are the best ways of attaining this purpose, therefore all forms of individual land tenure should be regarded as transitory and outliving themselves" (*Izvestia* No. 34, February 14, 1919). p. 195

[68] The *Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets* was held in Moscow. It was attended by 1,366 delegates (1,002 with the right to vote and 364 with voice but no vote), of them 1,278 Communists. The agenda of the Congress was the following: (1) Report of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, (2) War Situation, (3) the Communist International, (4) Food Situation, (5) Fuel Question, (6) Work of Soviet Bodies in the Centre and the Provinces, (7) Elections to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.

On the opening day of the Congress Lenin delivered the report on the work of the All-Russia C.E.C. and the C.P.C.; on the following day he closed the debate on the report, on December 8 he took part in a discussion of the report on the work of Soviet bodies at the session of the organisation section and on December 9 he made a speech closing the Congress. Lenin introduced addenda to the draft resolution on Soviet organisation.

The Congress of Soviets approved the home and foreign policy of the Soviet Government. The detailed discussion of the reports on Soviet organisation, the food situation and the fuel question was entrusted to respective sections in view of their practical importance. The draft resolutions on the reports submitted by the sections were approved by the closing plenary meeting of the Congress on December 9. The resolution on "Soviet Organisation" envisaged the further consolidation of Soviet government bodies, and gave an exact formulation of their rights and duties in the centre and in the provinces.

On Lenin's proposal the Congress adopted a resolution on peace and an appeal to the governments of Britain, France, the U.S.A., Italy and Japan to begin peace negotiations (see p. 231 of this volume). The Congress of Soviets passed a resolution on "Oppressed Nations" in which it once again confirmed the principles of the Soviet national policy. In a special resolution the Congress expressed its indignation at the reign of White Terror in Hungary. The Congress greeted the foundation of the Third International and stressed its tremendous international significance. p. 205

[69] On November 5, 1918, the German Government broke off diplomatic relations with the R.S.F.S.R. and expelled the staff of the Soviet Embassy from Berlin on the pretext that official Soviet representatives had been conducting revolutionary agitation in Germany. Diplomatic relations were not resumed until 1922. p. 211

[70] The *Dreyfus case*—a provocative trial engineered in 1894 by reactionary French militarists. Dreyfus, a Jewish officer of the French General Staff, was sentenced to life imprisonment by a court martial on a clearly fictitious charge of espionage and high treason. The trial was used by reactionary circles in France to incite anti-Semitism and to attack the republican regime and democratic liberties. When socialists and prominent bourgeois democrats (Émile Zola, Jean Jaurès, Anatole France and others) launched a campaign in 1898 for a review of the Dreyfus case, it immediately became a political issue and split the country into two camps—republicans and democrats on one side and the bloc of royalists, clericals, anti-Semites and nationalists on the other. In 1899 Dreyfus was pardoned and released under pressure of public opinion, but it was not until 1906 that the Court of Cassation found him not guilty and reinstated him in the army. p. 219

[71] Lenin refers to the *Texte intégral des propositions acceptées par Lénine* published in *l'Humanité* No. 5669 of October 26, 1919. p. 221

[72] *Cheka* (the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission) was set up on December 7 (20), 1917 by a decision of the Council of People's Commissars for the purpose of "ruthlessly combating counter-revolution, sabotage and profiteering". As one of the most important levers of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission played an important part in checking counter-revolutionary sabotage and in protecting the security of the Soviet Republic. Appraising the work of this commission, Lenin pointed out in his report to the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets in December 1921, "...this is the institution which has been our effective weapon against the innumerable conspiracies, against the innumerable attacks on Soviet power". In its resolution on the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission the Ninth Congress noted the commission's heroic work in protecting the gains of the October Revolution and, in view of the consolidation of Soviet power, proposed curtailing the commission's activity. This resolution reflected proposals made by Lenin in a draft decision of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the R.C.P.(B.) on the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission, which he wrote on December 1, 1921 (see *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*, p. 369). On February 6, 1922, the All-Russia C.E.C. passed a decree abolishing the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission. p. 233

[73] The *Bund* (the General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia) was founded in 1897 at the Inaugural Congress of

Jewish Social-Democratic groups in Vilna. It consisted mainly of semi-proletarian Jewish artisans of Western Russia.

During the First World War (1914-18), the Bundists took a social-chauvinist stand. In 1917 the Bund supported the bourgeois Provisional Government and sided with the enemies of the Great October Socialist Revolution. During the foreign military intervention and the Civil War, the Bund leaders made common cause with the counter-revolutionary forces. At the same time a tendency towards co-operation with the Soviets became apparent among the Bund rank and file. In March 1921 the Bund dissolved itself. p. 233

[74] Lenin refers to the counter-revolutionary conspiracy exposed in Petrograd in November 1919. The conspiracy was organised by a counter-revolutionary organisation linked up with Yudenich and subsidised by the Entente. Among its members were tsarist high officials, generals and admirals of the tsarist army and navy, Cadets, and people associated with the S.R.s and Mensheviks. They aimed at timing their revolt to Yudenich's offensive on Petrograd and setting up a whiteguard government. p. 235

[75] The *organisation section* was set up at the Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets to examine the innovations in the practical work of building up the Soviet state that took place after the adoption of the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. by the Fifth Congress of Soviets in June 1918.

Lenin took part in the debate on the report on Soviet development in the organisation section. The resolution of the section was endorsed at the closing plenary session of the Congress. p. 243

[76] The *Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany*—a Centrist party formed in April 1917 at the inaugural congress in Gotha. It advocated unity with social-chauvinists and went as far as to deny the class struggle. Kautsky's group (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*) in Reichstag formed the core of the party. In October 1920 a split took place at a party congress in Halle. A considerable section of the party united with the Communist Party of Germany in December 1920 and the Right wing formed a separate party, retaining its old name. It existed till 1922. p. 258

[77] *Centrists*, *Centrism*—a variety of opportunism in the labour movement, hostile to Marxism-Leninism. It arose in Social-Democratic parties of the Second International prior to the First World War.

The Centrists used Marxist phrases and posed as "orthodox Marxists", but in fact emasculated Marxism of its revolutionary content, and tried to retain the influence of open opportunism and hence of the bourgeoisie over the workers. The ideology of Centrism is the ideology of adaptation, of the subordination of the class interests of the proletariat to those of the bourgeoisie. Lenin said that Centrism was much more dangerous, much more harmful

to the working-class movement than open opportunism; he described Centrism as "the social product of the contradictions within the Second International, a blend of loyalty to Marxism in word, and subordination to opportunism in deed" (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 312).

During the First World War the Centrists supported the policy of the opportunists, the social-chauvinists and at the same time they advanced pacifist slogans, in this way diverting the workers from the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war. Kautsky was one of the chief theoreticians of Centrism. Centrism in Russia was represented by Trotsky, Martov, Chkheidze and others.

The Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin was an irreconcilable and consistent fighter against Centrism, against its Russian and international varieties. Exposing Centrism in Russia, the Bolsheviks helped the revolutionary elements in the parties of the Second International to get rid of Centrism, to break with the opportunists and to found genuinely Marxist, Communist Parties. p. 260

[78] See Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of December 13, 1870 (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1955, p. 305). p. 260

[79] See Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and *The Civil War in France* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1960, pp. 332-33, 483-85). p. 264

[80] The Decree on Land was adopted by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets on October 26 (November 8), 1917, the day following the establishment of Soviet power in Russia. The Decree on Land abolished the landed estates and all private ownership of land and gave the land to the peasants for their use. p. 265

[81] This refers to the civil war waged by the Finnish bourgeoisie against the proletarian revolution in Finland. The revolution began in the middle of January 1918 in the southern industrial districts of the country. On January 15 (28),1918 the Finnish Red Guard captured the capital—Helsingfors (Helsinki), and the bourgeois government of Svinhufvud was overthrown. The workers seized power and set up a revolutionary government known as the Council of People's Representatives; among its members were O. Kuusinen, J. Sirola, A. Taimi. Seims of workers' organisations formed the basic type of state power in the country. Lenin called them a new type of power, "proletarian power" (see present edition, Vol. 27, p. 133). Among the most important steps taken by the workers' government were the adoption of a law on the transfer without compensation of the lands tilled by the peasants to their ownership, exemption from taxation of the poor sections of the population, expropriation of the enterprises the owners of which had fled from the country, the establishment of state control over private banks (their functions were transferred to the state bank).

On March 1, 1918 a treaty was signed in Petrograd between the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic and the R.S.F.S.R. It was based on the principles of complete equality and sovereignty, and was the first treaty in the world between two socialist countries.

However the proletarian revolution was victorious only in the towns and countryside of the South of Finland. The Svinhufvud government established itself in the North and appealed to the German Government for assistance. As a result of the intervention of the German armed forces, the revolution in Finland was defeated in May 1918 after a bitter civil war. p. 273

[82] *Longuetists*—a minority group of the French Socialist Party led by Jean Longuet. During the First World War of 1914-18 they held Centrist views and pursued a conciliatory policy towards the social-chauvinists. The Longuetists rejected revolutionary struggle and advocated "defence of the fatherland" in the imperialist war Lenin called them petty-bourgeois nationalists (see present edition; Vol. 28, p. 286). After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the Longuetists declared that they supported the dictatorship of the proletariat, but in practice they were against it. p. 275

[83] This letter of greetings in the magazine *Smena* (The Younger Generation) was addressed to the youth of Petrograd Gubernia in connection with the "youth week" organised by the Young Communist League to enlist young workers and peasants in voluntary work for the public good on a widest possible scale. p. 276

[84] The *Moscow City Conference of the R.C.P.*(*B.*) was held December 20-21, 1919. The Conference discussed the convocation of an All-Russia Party Conference, the fuel problem, subbotniks, measures of combating typhus epidemics, the food situation in Moscow, universal military training, and special detachments.

A resolution on subbotniks underscored their tremendous significance as the first practical steps in building communism. The Party Conference recognised the great importance of subbotniks in achieving tangible results in raising labour productivity and in alleviating the transport, fuel, food and other crises of the Soviet Republic and made it incumbent upon all Party members to take part in subbotniks and make their work the most productive.

After Lenin's report the Conference heard the report on the organisation of subbotniks and approved an instruction. The Moscow Party Committee worked out and approved the "Statute on Subbotniks" published in *Pravda* on December 27, 1919. A special department was formed at the Moscow Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) for their supervision. p. 283

[85] The *Third, Communist International* (*Comintern*) was founded at the First (Inaugural) Congress of the Comintern held March 2-6, 1919. It was attended by 52 delegates, of whom 34 had the right to vote and 18 with voice but no vote. These delegates represented the Communist Parties of Russia, Germany, German Austria, Hungary,

Poland, Finland, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Estonia, Armenia, of the Volga Region Germans, the Swedish Left Social-Democratic Party, the Norwegian Social-Democratic Party, the Swiss Social-Democratic Party (the Opposition), the Balkan Revolutionary Social-Democratic Federation, the united group of the peoples of the East of Russia, the French Zimmerwald Left wing, the Czech, Bulgarian, Yugoslav, British, French and Swiss Communist groups, the Dutch Social-Democratic group, the American League of Socialist Propaganda, the Socialist Labor Party of America, the Chinese Socialist Labour Party, the Korean Workers' Union, the Turkestan, Turkish, Georgian, Azerbaijan and Persian sections of the Central Bureau of the Peoples of the East and the Zimmerwald Commission.

The first session passed a decision "to consider this meeting as the international communist conference", and adopted the following agenda: (1) inauguration, (2) reports, (3) platform of the international communist conference, (4) bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, (5) Berne Conference and the attitude towards socialist trends, (6) international situation and the policy of the Entente, (7) the Manifesto, (8) the White Terror, (9) elections of the Bureau and miscellaneous organisational questions.

The central item in the work of the conference was Lenin's theses and report on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The conference unanimously expressed its agreement with Lenin's theses and passed a decision to refer them to the Bureau for the widest distribution in various countries. The conference also adopted the resolution proposed by Lenin as a supplement to the theses.

On March 4, after the conference had endorsed Lenin's theses and passed a resolution on Lenin's report, it passed a decision to "constitute itself as the Third International and assume the name of the Communist International". On the same day the Congress unanimously proclaimed the dissolution of the Zimmerwald Left. On March 4, it approved the platform of the Communist International, main planks of which were: (1) the inevitability of the transition from capitalism to communism, (2) the necessity of a revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of bourgeois governments, (3) the abolition of the bourgeois state and its substitution by a state of a new type, the proletarian state, a state of the Soviet type, which will ensure the transition to a communist society.

One of the most important Congress documents was the Manifesto to the world proletariat, which stated that the Communist International was the successor of the ideas of Marx and Engels espressed in the *Communist Manifesto*. The Congress called upon the workers of all countries to support Soviet Russia, demanded noninterference of the Entente in the internal affairs of the Republic of Soviet, withdrawal of the interventionist troops from the territory of Russia, recognition of the Soviet state, cessation of the economic blockade and restoration of trade relations. In the resolution on "The Attitude Towards 'Socialist' Trends and the Berne Conference" the Congress condemned the attempts to restore the Second

International, which was "a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie" and declared that the revolutionary proletariat had nothing in common with that conference.

The Third International played a great role in exposing opportunism in the labour movement, in restoring contacts between the working people of various countries, in founding and strengthening the Communist Parties. p. 285

[86] Lenin refers to the "Theses of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) in Connection with the Situation on the Eastern Front" written on April 11, 1919, in which the Central Committee appealed to all Party organisations and all trade unions "to set to work in a revolutionary way" (see present edition, Vol. 29). p. 287

[87] The *All-Ukraine Revolutionary Military Committee* was a provisional revolutionary government in the Ukraine set up by decision of the C.E.C. and C.P.C. of the Ukraine on December 11, 1919 (the day Poltava and Kharkov were liberated). Among its members were G. I. Petrovsky (Chairman) and V. P. Zatonsky and D. Z. Manuilsky. The Committee was entrusted with the functions of the C.E.C. and C.P.C. of the Ukraine and was to give all-round assistance to the Red Army in finally routing the whiteguards; its tasks included abolition of land proprietorship; establishment of strong workers' and peasants' power on the territory of Soviet Ukraine; convocation of the Fourth All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets immediately after the liberation of the greater part of the Ukrainian lands. p. 294

[88] The *Borotba* Party (see Note 64) assumed the name of the Ukrainian Communist Party of Borotbists in August 1919. It was led by V. Blakitny, G. Grinko, A. Shumsky and others. In the party there were a few counter-revolutionary Petlyura adherents who disguised their real stand by revolutionary phrases, declarations of recognition of the communist programme but in fact were against the dictatorship of the proletariat and pursued a policy directed at splitting the single revolutionary front of the working peoples of Russia and the Ukraine.

The Borotbists addressed the Executive of the Comintern twice with a request to be admitted to the membership and be recognised as the main Communist Party in the Ukraine. On February 26, 1920, the Communist International passed a special decision on this question, in which it proposed to the Borotbists to dissolve their party and merge with the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine. The resolution said that the Executive of the Communist International could only regard the attempt to found a second, parallel party as an attempt to split the ranks of the working people.

On account of the growing influence of the Bolsheviks among the peasantry and the successes of the Soviet government in the Ukraine, the Borotbists had to pass a decision on voluntary dissolution.

The Fourth Conference of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine, held March 17-23, 1920, agreed to admit the Borot-

bists into its ranks. Later on however, many Borotbists resumed their anti-Soviet activity, and headed the struggle of the counter-revolutionary, bourgeois-nationalist elements in the Ukraine. p. 294

[89] This item was written by Lenin in 1919 or 1920 at one of the meetings of the Political Bureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). It was found at the end of 1924 and first published in *Pravda*. The exact time when it was written has not been established. p. 298

[90] The *First Congress of Women Workers and Peasants of Petrograd Gubernia* was held January 15-16, 1920. It was attended by 403 delegates, of whom 157 were Communists and 246 non-party; among them were 91 peasant women, 131 workers, 133 intellectuals, 15 dressmakers, 11 housewives and two militia women. Though the non-party delegates constituted the majority, the Congress was communist in spirit. The agenda was as follows: the present situation, the Communist Party and its attitude to women workers and peasants, the land question, the consumers' commune, social education, etc. On the opening day a telegram of greetings from Lenin was read out to which the Congress sent a reply. Yelena Stasova greeted the Congress on behalf of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) and the central department of women workers and peasants. She stressed the importance of the coming "week for the front" and called upon women delegates to strain every effort to restore normal life to the country. The Congress demonstrated the striving of the women workers and peasants to take an active part in building up the Soviet Republic. p. 299

[91] This refers to the directive adopted on Lenin's proposal by the Political Bureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on January 23, 1920 on the organisation of a workers' and peasants' inspection. On February 7, 1920 the All-Russia Central Executive Committee endorsed the Rules for the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection according to which the state control bodies were reorganised "into a single body of socialist control by workers and peasants".

Lenin attached great importance to workers' and peasants' inspection. In the articles written in 1923, "How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" and "Better Fewer, but Better", Lenin proposed to unite the workers' and peasants' inspection bodies with the Central Control Commission. In April 1923, the Twelfth Party Congress adopted a decision that followed Lenin's proposal to found a joint body with Party and state control functions.

At the time of the Stalin cult Lenin's principles of the organisation of Party and state control were grossly violated and a bureaucratic control apparatus was substituted for the Leninist system of control.

In November 1962 a plenary meeting of the C.C., C.P.S.U. considered it necessary to reorganise the system of supervision on Leninist principles. It decided to set up a Committee of Party and State Control of the C.C., C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of

the U.S.S.R. to unite and direct the entire work of supervision in the country. p. 300

[92] This refers to the armed intervention of the Entente imperialists in the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919. The republic was formed on March 21, 1919 and in August 1919 was crushed by the united efforts of the imperialist intervention and internal counter-revolution. p. 303

[93] This refers to the negotiations between Britain and France and the small bourgeois states, neighbours of the Soviet Republic, concerning a joint and simultaneous attack on Soviet Russia. According to Churchill "fourteen states" were to take part in the campaign (see Note 11). The initiators of the campaign planned to capture Petrograd and Moscow in December 1919. But the campaign failed, although, as Lenin pointed out, "all kinds of pressure—financial, food, military—have been applied to force Estonia, Finland, and no doubt Latvia, Lithuania and Poland as well, to force that whole group of states to make war on us" (see p. 175 of this volume).

The bourgeois governments of the Baltic states avoided active participation in hostilities against Soviet Russia, because the Soviet Republic repeatedly proposed peace and did not violate the sovereignty and independence of the small states which formerly belonged to the Russian Empire, whereas Kolchak and Denikin proclaimed the slogan of "a united and indivisible" Russia. In addition, the participation of the Baltic states in the anti-Soviet campaign was hindered by the protests of the people who came out for the cessation of the war against Soviet Russia and for the conclusion of a peace treaty. In autumn 1919 the British Government, the initiator and inspirer of the campaign, had to withdraw its troops from Archangel under the pressure of the British workers, and on January 16, 1920, the Allied Council resolved to lift the economic blockade and resume trade and commercial relations with the "population of Soviet Russia". p. 303

[94] These documents were written by Lenin during the conference on co-operatives held on January 26, 1920. They formed the basis of the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of January 27, 1920 on "The Unification of All Types of Co-operative Organisations".

The decree envisaged the fusion of the credit and savings co-operatives, their district, gubernia and regional societies, with consumers' co-operatives and their societies. The All-Russia Central Board of Agricultural, Trades and Other Co-operative Societies merged with the Central Union of Consumers' Societies (Tsentrosoyuz) as its affiliated sections. The Chief Committee for Co-operatives set up at the People's Commissariat of Food was to supervise all activities. On the same day, January 27, 1920, the Council of People's Commissars issued a decree on "The Abolition of Councils of Co-operative Congresses" in view of the merger of all-Russia co-operative centres with the Tsentrosoyuz and the amalgamation of the

credit and consumers' co-operatives; the functions and property of the all-Russia and gubernia councils of co-operative congresses were transferred to the Tsentrosoyuz and its branches. p. 307

[95] The *Third All-Russia Congress of Economic Councils* was held in Moscow, January 23-29, 1920. It was attended by some 500 delegates and included workers from large industrial enterprises and representatives of trade unions and gubernia economic councils. The Congress agenda was the following: the economic situation in Soviet Russia; the war industry and Red Army supplies; organisation of economic management; organisation of labour; labour conscription transport; the fuel problem and others. On January 27 Lenin delivered a speech at a plenary session. The Congress adopted the theses of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on "Mobilisation of the Industrial Proletariat, Labour Conscription, Militarisation of the Economy and Utilisation of Army Units for the Needs of the Economy". In its decisions the Congress stressed the need to maintain the centralised management of the country's economy, Simultaneously local economic councils were granted greater independence in economic activities. The Third Congress of Economic Councils drew up a plan for the further rehabilitation and development of the economy of the Soviet Republic. p. 309

[96] The transition of nationalised enterprises and branches of economy to one-man management started in the spring of 1918; by this time the working class had acquired certain experience in management, the first Soviet business executives had been trained in workers control bodies and elective collegiums. Lenin formulated the theoretical grounds for the one-man management of production coupled with extensive enrolment of working people into economic management in his article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" published on April 28, 1918.

At the end of 1919 when questions of economic organisation came to the fore, a discussion was held in the Party on the corporate or one-man management of enterprises. The so-called group of Democratic Centralism (T. V. Sapronov, N. Osinsky [V. V. Obolensky], V. N. Maximovsky, V. M. Smirnov and others) came out against the Leninist principle of one-man management and in favour of corporate management. They were supported by the Moscow Gubernia Party Committee. At the Kharkov Gubernia Party Conference the Democratic Centralists succeeded in carrying a resolution against one-man management. At the Fourth Conference of the C.P.(B.) of the Ukraine, held March 17-23, 1920, the vote was split evenly.

The Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) put an end to this discussion. Its resolution on "The Immediate Tasks of Economic Development" underscored that "the main task in organisation of management is setting up competent, firm and efficient management for every individual industrial enterprise and for an industry as a whole". The Congress resolved "to approximate the management of production to one-man management, that is, to introduce unre-

stricted one-man management in factory shops and departments, set the goal of one-man management in factory administrations and reduce collegiums at medium and high levels of production administration". p. 309

[97] The *first session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Seventh Convocation*, was held in Moscow, February 2-7, 1920. The agenda of the session was the following: report of the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C.; international situation; economic policy in connection with the organisation of labour and supplies; labour mobilisation and utilisation of the Army; transport; food problem; Workers' and Peasants' Inspection; peace negotiations with Estonia, and other questions. On February 2, Lenin delivered a report on the work of the All-Russia C.E.C. and the Council of people's Commissars. The session endorsed the Rules for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, according to which the People's Commissariat of State Control was to be reorganised into workers' and peasants' inspection with the enrolment of broad masses of workers and peasants into this work. The session passed a resolution on "Transport" which stated that the restoration of transport and improvement of its work were the primary task of the Soviet government. Another resolution underscored the tremendous importance of the electrification of the economy. The session endorsed the appeal to the Polish people and resolved to ratify the peace treaty with Estonia. p. 315

[98] Lenin read the report published in the central newspapers of January 18, 1920, that the governments of the Entente countries intended to lift the blockade and sanction trade with Soviet Russia. The decision passed by the Allied Council on January 16, 1920 stressed however that these measures did not mean any change in the policy of the Allied governments towards the Soviet Government. p. 316

[99] *Oleinikov*, the whiteguard officer mentioned, was carrying documents from S. D. Sazonov in Paris, through Sweden to Yudenich. He came over to the side of the revolution and handed the documents over to the Soviet authorities. The persons mentioned in the documents were: Sazonov, Foreign Minister in the tsarist government and Kolchak's government and the representative of Kolchak and Denikin in Paris; Gulkevich, Kolchak's envoy in Sweden; Bakhmetev, Kolchak's ambassador in Washington; Sukin, head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kolchak's government in Omsk; Sablin, Kolchak's chargé d'affaires in London; Knox, an English general, the British representative to Kolchak's government. p. 320

[100] Lenin refers to the Red Cross negotiations on an exchange of prisoners, the return of refugees, and so on. p. 323

[101] Lenin refers to the Declaration of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. addressed to the Government of Poland and the Polish people on January 28, 1920.

The Poland of the bourgeoisie and landowners depended entirely on the imperialists of the Entente. At the instigation of the British and French governments she made preparations for a criminal war against the young Soviet Republic. The Soviet Declaration stated that the policy of the R.S.F.S.R. in respect of Poland proceeded from the principle of the right of nations to self-determination and unreserved recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Poland. The Soviet Government confirmed that it had no aggressive designs against Poland. On February 2, 1920, a meeting of the First Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Seventh Convocation, endorsed an appeal to the Polish people. This appeal exposed the lies spread by the imperialist powers that Soviet Russia intended annexing parts of Poland, and stressed the Soviet Government's unwavering effort to achieve peace and establish friendly, good-neighbourly relations with independent Poland. p. 324

[102] The *Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Republic* was formed by an agreement between the central Soviet authorities and the Bashkir Government. The agreement confirmed the formation of the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Republic in conformity with the Soviet Constitution and defined its boundaries and administrative division. The agreement was published in *Izvestia* No. 63, March 23, 1919. p. 325

[103] The *Tatar Autonomous Soviet Republic* was formed on May 27, 1920, the decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars on the formation of the republic was signed by Lenin and Kalinin. p. 325

[104] See Note 53. p. 326

[105] Lenin refers to a number of government decrees aimed at combating the economic disruption and at rehabilitating the national economy. The decision to use the Third Army, renamed the First Revolutionary Army of Labour, on the labour front in the Urals was adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on January 15, 1920. The Statute of the Ukrainian Soviet Army of Labour was adopted by the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. in agreement with the All-Ukraine Revolutionary Committee on January 21. The decision to make use of the reserve army forces of the Republic to improve the railway transport in the area served by the Moscow-Kazan Railway was passed by the Council of Defence on January 23. The decree on labour conscription and the Statute of the Committees for Labour Conscription were adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on January 29, 1920. p. 333

[106] The *plan for the electrification of all Russia* was the first scientifically based, long-term state plan for the rehabilitation and development of the economy of the Soviet Republic. It was elaborated by the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO) in 1920 on Lenin's instructions. The plan was calculated for 10 to 15

years and provided for the building of 20 thermal power stations (Kizel, Kashira, Shterovka and others) and 10 hydropower stations (on the Dnieper, Svir, Volkhov and other rivers); total planned capacity was 1.5 million kw. The total yearly output of electric power was to be 8,800 million kwh; in 1913 Russia produced 1,900 million kwh. The plan envisaged rational, proportionate deployment of industry throughout the country. It envisaged an increase of 80-100 per cent in industrial output over the 1913 level, and a huge increase over the 1920 level. The GOELRO plan was in the main completed by 1931. The output of electric power in the U.S.S.R. reached 10,700 million kwh, which was twenty times more than in 1921. p. 335

[107] The theses were written by Lenin in reply to the proposal of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany to start negotiations on the terms of their joining the Communist International. On January 20, 1920, Lenin's theses were discussed at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) which decided to accept them as a basis and set up a commission with Lenin as a member for the final editing of the reply and its presentation in the form of a letter. p. 337

[108] *Die Freiheit* (Freedom)—a daily paper, organ of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, published in Berlin from November 15, 1918 to September 30, 1922. p. 338

[109] The meeting was held in Moscow, February 5-6, 1920. It was attended by more than 1,000 people. The agenda was the following: the international situation; the fight against economic dislocation; labour conscription; transport; social security; tasks of the R.C.P. in the proletarian revolution; public health services; food problem.

The Conference was held at a time when transport was the main sector of the labour front. The supply of raw material and fuel to factories and food for the population depended on the work of the railways. In a very short time thousands of locomotives and trucks and many railway lines and bridges had to be repaired. The Party mobilised Communists and assigned them to work on the railways. Lenin delivered the opening speech at this Conference. The resolution adopted by the Conference proposed to concentrate the entire attention of the country and the efforts of the working class on the internal development of Soviet Russia and particularly on the industrial and economic front. The Conference called upon all railwaymen to form "the Red Labour Transport Army with strict labour discipline". p. 345

[110] See Note 91. p. 351

[111] *Le Populaire*—a French Centrist newspaper published in Limoges from 1916 and in Paris from July 1917. In 1921 it became the official organ of the French Socialist Party and at present is controlled by the party's Right wing. p. 352

[112] *Comité pour la reconstruction de l'Internationale* was founded at the end of 1919 by the Centrist elements of the French Socialist Party, led by Jean Longuet. p. 352

[113] The *French Socialist Party* was founded in 1905 by the merger of the Socialist Party of France led by Guesde and the French Socialist Party led by Jaurès. On the outbreak of the imperialist war, the party leadership took a chauvinist stand. It openly supported the imperialist war, and justified participation in the bourgeois government. The Centrist wing, led by Longuet, took a social-pacifist line and a conciliatory attitude towards the social-chauvinists. The Left, revolutionary wing, consisting mainly of the rank and file, adhered to internationalist positions.

After the October Revolution in Russia, a sharp struggle unfolded in the party between the open reformists and Centrists, on the one hand, and the Left, revolutionary wing, which grew more influential thanks to the influx into the party of rank-and-file workers on the other. At the party congress held in Tours in December 1920 the revolutionary wing received the majority vote. The congress passed a decision to join the Communist International, and founded the Communist Party of France. The majority of reformists and Centrists split away from the party and founded an independent party that retained the old name of the French Socialist Party. p. 352

[114] *La Vie Ouvrière* (Workers' Life)—a weekly newspaper of the revolutionary syndicalists of France published in Paris from April 1919 to 1939, when it was banned. The newspaper resumed its publication in 1944. At present it is the organ of the French General Confederation of Labour (*Confédération générale du Travail*). p. 352

[115] *Communist International*—a periodical, organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, published from May 1, 1919 to June 1943 in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish and Chinese. The journal carried theoretical articles and documents of the Communist International, including a number of articles by Lenin. The journal treated questions of Marxist-Leninist theory in the light of the problems of the international workers' and communist movement, published articles on the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, and carried on a struggle against various anti-Leninist trends. Its publication ceased owing to the decision of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern of May 15, 1943 to dissolve the Communist International. p. 352

[116] This refers to the international political strike planned for July 21, 1919 under the slogans of support for the Russian and Hungarian revolutions and demand of non-interference on the part of the imperialist governments in Russian and Hungarian internal affairs. Separate strikes took place on the appointed day in Britain, Italy, Germany, Norway, and other countries. But this action by the proletariat of various countries lacked unity.

The Right-wing leaders of socialist parties and trade unions did everything to prevent the international strike. The conduct of French social-collaborators was treacherous. To mislead the workers, Léon Jouhaux, Alphonse Merrheim and other leaders of the General Confederation of Labour expressed in favour of the strike, but on the eve of the strike they proposed to postpone it, and in this way prevented it. p. 352

[117] *Avanti!* (Forward!)— a daily newspaper, Central Organ of the Italian Socialist Party, founded in December 1896 in Rome. During the First World War the newspaper took an inconsistent internationalist stand and did not break off relations with the reformists. In 1926 it was suppressed by Mussolini's fascist government, but continued to appear abroad. Since 1943 it has again been published in Italy. p. 352

[118] The *I.L.P.*—Independent Labour Party of Britain, a reformist organisation founded by the leaders of the "new trades unions" in 1893 at the time of the revival of the strike movement and the intensification of the workers' struggle to break away from the bourgeois parties. Members of the "new trades unions" and of a number of the old trades unions, intellectuals and petty bourgeois who were under the influence of the Fabians joined the I.L.P. Its leaders were James Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald. Ever since its foundation the I.L.P. has adhered to bourgeois-reformist principles, concentrating on parliamentary struggle and parliamentary deals with the Liberal Party. Lenin wrote of the I.L.P. that it "was an opportunist party always dependent on the bourgeoisie" (see present edition, Vol. 29, "The Tasks of the Third International"). p. 353

[119] *Die Rote Fahne* (The Red Flag)—a newspaper, Central Organ of the Communist Party of Austria, published in Vienna since November 1918. It changed its name several times; at first it was published under the name of *Der Weckruf* (Reveille); from January 1919 under the name of *Die Soziale Revolution* (The Social Revolution); from July 1919, *Die Rote Fahne*. From 1933 it had to go underground. From August 1945 it appeared under the title of *Österreichische Volksstimme* (The Austrian People's Voice). On February 21, 1957 It began to appear as *Volksstimme*. p. 354

[120] *Kun, Béla* (1886-1939)—prominent leader of the Hungarian and international communist movement. In 1919 he headed the Hungarian Soviet Government. p. 354

[121] *La Bataille* (The Struggle)—a newspaper, mouthpiece of the French anarcho-syndicalists, was published in Paris from 1915 to 1920 in place of the suppressed *La Bataille Sindicaliste*. Its leading spirits were Grave, Jouhaux, Cornelissen and others. During the first World War it adopted a social-chauvinist stand. p. 355

[122] Lenin's answers were wired to Berlin, and from there to New York on February 21, 1920. That same evening they were published in

the *New York Evening Journal*. Lenin's answers were reprinted in the German communist and socialist press. p. 365

[123] A special correspondent of the London conservative newspaper *Daily Express* in Copenhagen addressed a request to Lenin to answer his four questions. Lenin's reply was received in Copenhagen on February 22 and on the following day published in *Daily Express*. p. 368

[124] The *League of Nations*—an international organisation which existed between the First and Second World wars. It was founded in 1919 at the Paris Peace Conference of the victor countries. Its Charter formed part of the Versailles Peace Treaty and was signed by 44 states. The working bodies of the League of Nations were the Assembly, the League of Nations Council and the permanent Secretariat headed by the Secretary General. The League Charter was calculated to create the impression that the organisation had as its aims the struggle against aggression, the reduction of armaments and the strengthening of peace and security. In reality the leaders of the League of Nations shielded aggressors, and instigated the arms drive and preparations for a second world war.

Between 1920 and 1934 the League's activities were hositile to the Soviet Union. During 1920-21 it was one of the centres of the organisation of armed intervention against Soviet Russia.

On September 15, 1934, on the initiative of French diplomats, thirty-four member states of the League approached the Soviet Union with an invitation to join the organisation. The U.S.S.R. joined the League of Nations in order to carry on the struggle for peace but its attempts to establish a peace front encountered the resistance of the reactionary circles of the Western powers. From the beginning of the Second World War the League of Nations in effect ceased to exist. The formal decision to dissolve the League was taken at a specially convened Assembly in April 1946. p. 374

[125] Lenin here refers to *Proletcult* (Proletarian Culture Organisation) formed in September 1917 as an independent workers' cultural and educational organisation. After the October Revolution A. A. Bogdanov and other leaders of the Proletcult continued to uphold its "independence" and thus counterposed it to the interests of the proletarian state. As a result, bourgeois intellectuals made their way into the organisation and began to influence it. The Proletcult members practically rejected the cultural legacy of previous generations, strove to cut themselves off from mass cultural and educational work, isolated themselves from life and advocated the need to create a special "proletarian culture" by "laboratory methods". Bogdanov, the main ideologist of the Proletcult, recognised Marxism in words, but actually advocated subjective idealism and Machism. The Proletcult was not a homogeneous organisation. Besides bourgeois intellectuals who made up the leadership of many of its organisations, there was also working youth who sincerely wanted to help the cultural development of the Soviet state. The Proletcult organisations made progress in 1919, but in the early

twenties they went into decline. In 1932 the Proletcult ceased to exist.

Lenin sharply criticised its erroneous principles in a draft resolution on "Proletarian Culture" (see present edition, Vol. 31, "On Proletarian Culture") and in a number of other works. p. 378

[126] The *First All-Russia Congress of Working Cossacks* was held February 29-March 6, 1920. It was attended by 339 delegates from nearly all Cossack regions. The agenda of the Congress was the following: Soviet development in Cossack regions; food policy; organisation of national economy, etc. Lenin took part in the work of the Congress, and showed the true road for the working Cossacks in his speech on March 1. The Congress denounced the attempts of the upper strata of Cossacks, in company with the landowners and bourgeoisie, to separate the Cossacks from the common cause of all the working people. The Congress resolution stressed that the chief task of the working Cossacks was to unite with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. The Congress expressed in favour of the participation of working Cossacks in Soviet governmental bodies on the same conditions as all workers and peasants, called upon the Cossacks to strengthen the union of workers and peasants and concentrate all efforts on overcoming the economic devastation in the country. p. 380

[127] Lenin refers to the Decree on Peace adopted by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on October 26 (November 8), 1917 (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 249-53).

The Decree on Peace proposed to all belligerent nations and their governments that they immediately sign an armistice and start negotiations on a just democratic peace. p. 383

[128] Lenin refers to a strike of workers in Germany which began on January 28, 1918 in protest against the rapacious peace terms proposed by the German delegation during the Brest-Litovsk peace talks. Over 500,000 workers at armaments factories went on strike. The strikers demanded peace without annexations and indemnities as proposed by the Soviet delegation, the participation of worker representatives of all countries in peace talks, the repeal of the war-time laws in the country and granting of democratic civil rights to the people. The workers of Hamburg, Kiel, Leipzig, the Ruhr region and other industrial centres also went on strike. All in all, over 1,000,000 people took part in the January political strike. *Arbeiterräte* were set up in a number of cities during the strike.

At the head of the strike were revolutionary stewards elected by workers mainly from among the active trade unionists. However, the majority of revolutionary stewards were members of the Independent Social-Democratic Party, the activities of which were directed by collaborators. This weakened the forces of the strikers.

Though the January political strike ended in the defeat of the workers, its significance was very great. Lenin considered that this strike "marks a turn of sentiment among the German proletariat" (see present edition, Vol. 27, p. 546). p. 383

[129] This refers to the newspapers published in 1918-19 in English, German and French by the groups of foreign Communists set up at the C.C., R.C.P.(B.); they were for distribution among soldiers of the interventionist armies and among prisoners of war. The English newspaper *The Call* was distributed on the Northern Front. Two German publications, *Der Völkerfriede* (Peace of the Peoples) and *Weltrevolution* (World Revolution), were distributed among the German prisoners of war and in the Ukraine. The French weekly *La Lanterne* was distributed in the South of Russia. p. 385

[130] On December 18 (31), 1917, Lenin handed Svinhufvud, head of the Finnish bourgeois government, the decree of the Council of People's Commissars granting independence to Finland. The decree was endorsed by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on December 22, 1917 (January 4, 1918). p. 388

[131] Lenin refers to the preparations for a military-monarchist putsch in Germany. The leader of the German reactionaries, Kapp, gave his name to the revolt known as the "Kapp putsch" to which the Social-Democratic government offered no resistance. On March 13, 1920, army units were moved to Berlin and meeting with no resistance from the government declared it dissolved and set up a military junta. The German working class responded with a general strike and on March 17, under pressure from the working class, Kapp's government fell and state power again passed into the hands of the Social-Democrats, who by deceit succeeded in frustrating the general strike. p. 392

[132] The slogan calling for restoration of the 1772 frontiers implied the seizure of Byelorussia, Lithuania, part of the Ukraine as far as the middle Dnieper, and the southern part of Latvia; it reflected the aggressive tendencies of the Polish bourgeoisie and landowners. p. 394

[133] The *Second All-Russia Congress of Medical Workers* was held February 25-March 2, 1920. It was attended by 312 delegates, of whom 125 were Communists. The agenda of the Congress was the following: report of the C.C. of the All-Russia Union of Medical Workers, elections of the auditing commission, organisational report, sanitary service in the Republic, medical service and others. Lenin addressed the Congress with a brief speech of greeting on March 1. The Congress paid special attention to the organisation of the medical services. It also dealt with the questions of training new medical personnel and drafted a plan for the organisation of medical education. p. 401

[134] On February 16, 1920, Lenin was elected deputy to the Moscow Soviet from State Confectionery Factory No. 3 (now the Bolshevik Factory) and from the workers and employees of Khovrino Station, Nikolayevskaya (now Oktyabrskaya) Railway. On February 20 his

rights as member of the Moscow Soviet were confirmed by the credentials commission and he was issued with Deputy's Identification Card No. 1. Ever since then at every convocation of the Moscow City Soviet Deputy's Identification Card No. 1 has been issued in Lenin's name. p. 410

[135] The *Third All-Russia Congress of Water Transport Workers* was held in Moscow, March 15-23, 1920. It was attended by 161 delegates, of whom 144 were Communists. The agenda of the Congress included: the current situation and the tasks of the trade unions, reports of the C.C. and of the auditing commission, the international trade union movement, the food situation, trade unions and management of the country's economy, vocational and technical education, cultural and educational work. On March 15 Lenin delivered a speech on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars. p. 426

[136] On March 16 1920, a meeting dedicated to the memory of Y. M. Sverdlov was held in the Bolshoi Theatre. It was attended by members of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), All-Russia C.E.C., Moscow Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), representatives of trade unions and factory committees, and delegates of the gubernia congress of Soviets which was going on at the same time. Comrades who knew Sverdlov closely spoke of their work with him. Lenin spoke on behalf of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). p. 433

[137] The recording of Lenin's speeches was organised by the Central Press Agency. In 1919-21, 16 of his speeches were recorded. Gramophone records with his speeches were distributed in tens of thousands at agitation centres, peasant meetings, clubs, Red Army units and were of tremendous significance for mass agitation work. Particularly popular were his speeches "The Middle Peasants", "What Is Soviet Power?" and "The Tax in Kind". p. 435

[138] The Ninth Party Congress was held in Moscow from March 29 to April 5, 1920. The Congress opened in the Bolshoi Theatre with an introductory speech by Lenin. The following meetings of the Congress took place in one of the buildings of the Kremlin. Present at the Congress were 715 delegates, of whom 553 had the right to vote and 162 were delegates with voice but no vote; they represented 611,973 Party members. At the Congress there were delegates from the Party organisations of Central Russia, the Ukraine, Urals Siberia and of other districts recently liberated by the Red Army. Many delegates came to the Congress straight from the front.

The Congress adopted the following agenda: (1) Report of the Central Committee; (2) Immediate tasks of economic development; (3) Trade union movement; (4) Organisational questions; (5) Tasks of the Communist International; (6) Attitude to the co-operatives; (7) Transition to the militia system; (8) Election to the Central Committee; (9) Other business.

Lenin guided the work of the Congress. He delivered the report on the political work of the Central Committee and closed the debate on the report. He also spoke on economic development and on co-

operation, and made the speech on the closing of the Congress. He submitted a proposal on the list of candidates for membership to the C.C.

In its resolution "The Immediate Tasks of Economic Construction" the Congress pointed out that "the basic condition of economic rehabilitation of the country is steady implementation of the single economic plan for the coming historical epoch".

The Ninth Congress directives were taken as the basis for a plan by the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO), the final draft of which was approved in December 1920 by the All-Russia Congress of Soviets. It was the first long-term scientific plan in history for the economic development of a vast country; it was calculated to create the production and technical basis of socialism.

Special attention was devoted to the organisation of production management. The resolution on the question pointed out the necessity of competent, firm and energetic one-man management.

The Congress emphasised the importance of utilising the achievements of science, technology and culture in the interests of socialist economy. The Congress put forward the task of enlisting specialists into the sphere of production and of establishing the atmosphere of comradely co-operation between workers and specialists.

The anti-Party group of Democratic Centralists (Sapronov, Osinsky, V. Smirnov and others) opposed the Party line on economic development. Using phrases about democratic centralism, this group spoke against the use of specialists, against centralised state administration, against one-man management and the personal responsibility of managers of enterprises; they insisted on unlimited corporate management. That group was supported at the Congress by Rykov, Tomsky, Milyutin, and Lomov, who also spoke against the principle of one-man management and claimed that corporate management was the only principle of management of industry from the Supreme Economic Council down to the management of a single factory.

The Congress resolutely denounced the democratic centralism group and rejected their anti-Party proposals.

Another important question discussed at the Congress was that of trade unions in connection with the adaptation of their work for economic tasks. The Congress severely criticised anarcho-syndicalist elements (Shlyapnikov, Lozovsky, Tomsky, Lutovinov), who advocated the "independence" of trade unions and counterposed them to the Communist Party and the Soviet power. Guided by Lenin's teaching the Congress pointed out that the trade unions, as school of communism, should organise the proletarian masses, train them in the work of management, raise their cultural and political level to the standards of communism, and prepare them for the role of active builders of communism.

At its closed meeting on April 4, the Congress elected a new Central Committee of 19 members and 12 alternate members. A. A. Andreyev, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, M. I. Kalinin, V. I. Lenin, Y. E. Rudzutak, F. A. Sergeyev (Artyom) were among the newly elected C.C. members. p. 439

[139] Lenin refers to the savage terror resorted to by the Finnish bourgeoisie to suppress the proletarian revolution in 1918. Over 90,000 people were imprisoned or sent to concentration camps, nearly 18,000 were executed and nearly as many died of hunger or tortures. The number of victims of White Terror ten times exceeded the number of Finnish workers killed in the battles for the revolution. p. 449

[140] After the November revolution of 1918 in Germany the Right-wing leaders of German Social-Democracy exerted every effort to save the capitalist system. The Right Social-Democrats and the Independents seized the majority of seats in the *Arbeiterräte* which had sprung up during the revolution, and at their First All-Germany Congress, held December 16-21, 1918, in Berlin, succeeded in carrying through a resolution on handing over power to a government representing the interests of the bourgeoisie and on convening a Constituent Assembly. This actually meant the end of the *Arbeiterräte*. In January 1919 counter-revolutionary detachments set up by the War Minister Noske, Right Social-Democrat, brutally suppressed the revolutionary action of the Berlin proletariat. On January 15, armed detachments arrested and brutally murdered the leaders of the German working class, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Having crushed the January uprising and destroyed the best leaders of the German working class, the German bourgeoisie ensured the victory of the bourgeois parties during the elections to the Constituent Assembly on January 19, 1919. p. 449

[141] The rout of the foreign interventionists and whiteguards in 1919 and the consolidation of Soviet Russia's position in the world compelled the bourgeois rulers of Latvia to seek a peace treaty with the R.S.F.S.R. On March 25, 1920, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Latvia addressed a proposal to the Soviet Government to start peace negotiations. The peace conference of R.S.F.S.R. and Latvian representatives opened on April 16 in Moscow. The peace treaty was signed in Riga on August 11. p. 451

[142] By the beginning of 1920 Soviet Russia's position at home and abroad had been consolidated, and the ruling circles of Finland had to conclude a peace treaty with the R.S.F.S.R. On March 25 the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland proposed to the Soviet Government to demarcate the frontier that was tantamount to starting negotiations on peace. The peace treaty between the R.S.F.S.R. and Finland was signed on October 14, 1920 in the town of Yuryev (now Tartu). It confirmed the independence and sovereignty of Finland granted her by the Soviet Government in 1917. p. 451

[143] The Polish Government's agreement to start negotiations was merely a manoeuvre to cover war preparations against the Soviet Republic. In reply to the Soviet Government's many proposals (December 22, 1919, January 28, February 2, March 6 1920), the Po-

lish Government gave its consent only on March 2, 1920. But the Polish reactionaries sabotaged the negotiations and started hostilities on April 25, 1920. In the autumn of 1920, however, as a result of the Red Army's offensive the Polish Government had to agree to sign a peace treaty. The Treaty on an Armistice and Preliminary Peace Terms was signed in Riga on October 12, and the Peace Treaty between the R.S.F.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R. on the one side and Poland on the other was signed in Riga on March 18, 1921. p. 451

[144] Lenin refers to S. I. Gusev's pamphlet "Immediate Problems of Economic Development (On C.C., R.C.P.[B.] Theses. Materials for the Ninth Party Congress, Saratov, 1920)". The paragraph referred to by Lenin was included in the draft resolution with slight alterations.

In Gusev's pamphlet this point is worded as follows: "All enterprises which are not subsidiary to the chief economic task of the period should be developed to the extent that they do not interfere with the fulfilment of the main task. Subsidiary enterprises should be developed as required by the main task. In view of this a single economic plan should not be the sum total of production programmes worked out by individual industries and local economic councils on the basis of orders received from central and local organisations, but, on the contrary, such a plan should envisage the volume of production for each industry. p. 461

[145] Lenin refers to the meeting of the group of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions on March 15, 1920, at which Tomsky's theses on the "Tasks of the Trade Unions" were discussed. Lenin sharply criticised the theses, particularly article 7 on corporate management as the main method. But the All-Russia C.C.T.U. group took up an incorrect stand, and its majority voted for Tomsky's theses. p. 474

[146] The Decree of the Council of People's Commissars "On Centralisation of Management, Protection of Roads and Raising Their Traffic Capacity", published in *Izvestia* No. 59, March 28, 1918, was demagogically called the "Decree on Dictatorship" by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. p. 475

[147] The Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) set up a special committee to discuss the co-operative movement. At its meeting of April 2, 1920, the committee examined several variants of the theses on the co-operatives submitted for discussion at the Congress. The committee took as the basis the theses by V. P. Milyutin, who proposed to subordinate co-operatives to the state. After Lenin's speech against Milyutin's theses, the Congress by a majority vote passed a resolution which Lenin had supported. p. 480

[148] The document "On Compromises" is the beginning of an article which was not finished. The ideas set forth in this document were

elucidated in greater detail by Lenin in his book "*Left-Wing*" *Communism*, *an Infantile Disorder*.

The talk with the pacifist Lansbury, one of the leaders of the British Labour Party, took place in the Kremlin, February 21, 1920. p. 491

[149] See Engels, "Programm des blanquistischen Kommuneflüchtlinge", Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Band 18, S. 532. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1958. p. 492

[150] *Chartism*—a mass revolutionary movement of the British workers in the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century. Its organisational centre was the London Workingmen's Association, which in 1838 drew up a petition (People's Charter) to be presented to Parliament, demanding universal franchise for men over 21, a secret ballot, repeal of the property qualifications for Parliamentary candidates, annual re-election of Parliament, and so forth. In 1840 the National Chartist Association was founded, which was the first mass party of workers in the labour movement. On May 2, 1842 the Chartists sent a second petition to Parliament, which included demands for a shorter working day, higher wages, and the like. The petition was rejected by Parliament. In reply the Chartists organised a general strike. In 1848 the Chartists planned a mass march to Parliament with a third petition, but the government brought in the troops to prevent it. Many months passed before the petition was examined and rejected. After 1848 the Chartist movement began to decline. The main reason for its failure was the absence of a clear programme and tactics and the lack of consistently revolutionary leadership. However, the Chartists had a tremendous influence on the political history of Britain and on the international working-class movement. Lenin described Chartism as "the first broad, truly mass and politically organised proletarian revolutionary movement" (see present edition, Vol. 29, "The Third International and Its Place in History"). p. 492

[151] The *First* (*Inaugural*) *All-Russia Congress of Mineworkers* was held in Moscow, April 1-6,1920. It met at the height of the struggle for the rehabilitation of the national economy. It was attended by 173 people, of whom 153 were delegates with the right to vote and 13 with voice but no vote; 85 were Communists. The Congress represented about 200,000 workers in the mining industry. Delegates from the oil industry could not attend the Congress, because the Caucasus was not yet freed from the whiteguards.

The delegates endorsed the following agenda: report of the organising bureau, tasks of the trade unions, the organisational question, tariffs, the state of the mining industry, the state of the coal industry, forms of participation of the unions in the organisation and management of industry, elections. Lenin, who was elected honorary chairman of the Congress, made a speech at one of its meetings. The Congress addressed greetings to miners in all countries. p. 495

[152] The *Third All-Russia Trade Union Congress* was held in Moscow, April 6-13, 1920, in the House of Trade Unions. It was attended by nearly 1,600 delegates, who represented over 4 million trade union members. The Bolsheviks constituted a majority at the Congress; 1,180 delegates were Bolsheviks and their supporters, 57 were Mensheviks, and 69 represented other parties.

The Congress based its work on the programme of economic development mapped out by the Ninth Party Congress. The agenda included the following items: report on the activities of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions, report on the activities of the People's Commissariat of Labour, the tasks of the trade unions, organisational question, tariff policy, the supply of goods for workers, the role of the trade unions in the national economy, the international trade union movement, cultural and educational activities.

At the second plenary meeting of the Congress on April 7 Lenin delivered a speech in the name of the Council of People's Commissars. He was greeted with an ovation and the audience sang the *Internationale*. He defined the tasks of the Soviet Republic in peacetime and drew attention to the work of the trade unions in economic development. After Lenin's speech the Congress adopted a decision to issue an appeal to the workers and to all working people generally calling upon them to combat economic chaos by their joint efforts, to introduce strict discipline immediately in all trade union organisations and to intensify the work of drawing the masses in the building of communism through the medium of the trade unions and under the guidance of the Communist Party.

The Third All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions fully approved of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) in the sphere of economic development. The Congress condemned the Mensheviks who advocated the independence of the trade unions and attempted to oppose them to the Communist Party. p. 502

[153] This refers to the newspaper *Kommunistichesky Subbotnik* issued on one occasion only on the initiative of the Moscow Committee of the R.C.P.(B.). It was prepared by the editors of and contributors to the Moscow newspapers *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, *Bednota*, *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, *Kommunistichesky Trud* and the ROSTA telegraph agency during the subbotnik of April 10, 1920. The initiative was supported by printers who participated with great enthusiasm in the first "newspaper" subbotnik. The newspaper was set and printed in the printing-shop of the All-Russia C.E.C. and circulated on April 11. Among its contributors were Lenin, Yaroslavsky, Kollontai, Demyan Bedny, Serafimovich and Timiryazev. p. 516

[154] The *Third All-Russia Congress of Textile Workers* was held in Moscow April 16-20, 1920. It was attended by 358 delegates, of whom 148 were Communists and 23 Communist supporters. The agenda of the Congress included the following: report of the Central Committee of the Union, the tasks of the trade unions, raw materials supplies, the state of the flax and woollen industries, the tasks

of the Union in rehabilitating transport, the food question, and safety regulations.

Lenin made a speech at its plenary meeting on April 19. On behalf of the Congress participants the Presidium congratulated Lenin on his fiftieth birthday, the delegates greeted him with loud applause. The Congress sent greetings to the Red Army and the Communist International. p. 519

[155] *Sukharevka Market* was a street market on Sukharevskaya (now Kolkhoznaya) Square, it was situated around the Sukharev tower built by Peter the First in 1692 . During the years of foreign military intervention and the Civil War it was the centre of speculation. The name became the synonym for profiteering. In 1932 the Sukharevka Market was finally abolished and in 1934 the Sukharev tower was demolished because it interfered with traffic. p. 522

[156] On April 23, 1920 the Moscow Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) organised a meeting in honour of Lenin's fiftieth birthday. It was attended by Moscow Party functionaries. People who knew Lenin well, who had worked with him before the October Revolution, spoke at the meeting. Gorky, Lunacharsky, Olminsky and the proletarian poets Kirillov and Alexandrovsky spoke of Lenin with great warmth and deep respect. Lenin was given an ovation when he appeared. p. 526

[157] Lenin refers to a cartoon by the well-known artist Karrik who drew it in 1900 on the birthday of the Narodnik N. K. Mikhailovsky. Yelena Stasova sent the cartoon to Lenin on his fiftieth birthday. The drawing depicted Marxists as children who came to congratulate Mikhailovsky. Stasova wrote on the cartoon that at the time of Mikhailovsky's birthday the Party had been in its childhood, had few members, whereas it had since grown, "and this is the result of your work, this is thanks to your mind and talent". p. 526

THE LIFE AND WORK OF V. I. LENIN

Outstanding Dates
(*September 1919–April 1920*)

1919

September 3 — Lenin speaks on the current situation at a non-party conference of workers and Red Army men of Basmanny, Lefortovo, Alexeyevskoye and Sokolniki districts of Moscow.

September 5 — Lenin telegraphs the Bashkirian Revolutionary Committee on the urgent need to transfer Bashkirian units for the defence of Petrograd; sends greetings to Bashkirian Red Army men.

September 12 — Lenin gives guidance to a session of the Council of Defence which discusses the results of the work of the Moscow Coalfield, the supply of food for the workers of Petrograd and Kronstadt engaged on especially important defence work, etc.

September 16 — Lenin writes to Gusev sharply criticising the conduct of operations by the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, and Trotsky for bad work on the Southern front.

September 18-20 — Lenin writes "How the Bourgeoisie Utilises Renegades".

September 23 — Lenin writes his letter "To the American Workers".

Lenin speaks at the Fourth Moscow City Conference of Non-Party Working Women.

September 24 — Lenin gives guidance to a session of the Council of Defence which discusses the area in which martial law is to be introduced in connection with Denikin's offensive and the preparations for the defence of that area, the organisation of universal military training, the supply of arms and clothing to the food army, etc.

September 26 — Lenin gives guidance to a plenary meeting of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) which discusses the organisation of a Party Week, measures to strengthen the Southern Front, the attitude towards the Cossacks, etc.

September-October — Lenin works on plans and notes for his pamphlet *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*.

October 2 — Lenin sends a telegram to the Petrograd workers welcoming their efforts in carrying out mobilisation for the Southern Front.

October 3 — Lenin writes his article "The Example of the Petrograd Workers".

October 5 — Lenin writes his answers to questions put by the correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*.

October 6 — Lenin sends greetings to the Second All-Russia Congress of the Russian Communist Youth League.

October 8 — Lenin gives a directive to the Orenburg Gubernia Party Committee and the Orenburg Gubernia Executive Committee to provide reinforcements for the Southern Front.

October 10 — Lenin writes his article "Greetings to Italian, French and German Communists".

In a telegram to Ufa workers Lenin thanks them for restoring the bridge over the River Belaya ahead of schedule.

October 11 — Lenin writes his article "The Workers' State and Party Week".

October 13 — Lenin sends a telegram to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Fifth Army and to M. V. Frunze, commander of the Turkestan Front, conveying the C.C. directive to help the Southern Front.

October 14 — In a telegram to the Petrograd Soviet's Executive Committee Lenin directs it to mobilise the workers of Soviet institutions for the front, repulse Yudenich's attack and continue helping the Southern Front.

October 15 — Lenin instructs the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic to send wireless stations to the Southern Front without delay.

Lenin instructs N. A. Semashko to compile a draft decree on the formation of a Committee for Aid to the Wounded at the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.

October 16	Lenin speaks from the balcony of the Moscow Soviet building greeting worker Communists from Yaroslavl and Vladimir gubernias who are on their way to the Southern Front.
October 17	Lenin writes his appeal "To the Workers and Red Army Men of Petrograd".
October 17-18	Lenin requests the People's Commissariat of Food for information on food dispatched to Petrograd and transmits that information to the Petrograd Soviet.
October 18	Lenin sends directive to Petrograd Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) to speed up the defeat of Yudenich; informs the committee of the dispatch of troops to the Petrograd Front.
October 19	Lenin writes his appeal "To the Red Army Men".
October 20	Lenin instructs the chairman of the Tula Gubernia Executive Committee and the Gubernia Military Committee to concentrate all forces on the war and war supplies, re-organising all work on war-time lines.
October 21	Lenin writes his "Results of Party Week in Moscow and Our Tasks".
October 22	Lenin instructs the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic to mobilise a further 20,000 Petrograd workers to crush Yudenich completely.
October 24	In the Blue Hall of the Moscow Trade Union House Lenin addresses worker Communists from Ivanovo-Voznesensk who have been mobilised for the front.
	Lenin addresses students of the Sverdlov Communist University who are leaving for the front.
October 28	Lenin addresses students at Adult Education Courses who are leaving for the front.
	Lenin writes letters to foreign Communists—to French and Italian Communists, to members of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany and to a group of Communists who have broken away from the C.P. of Germany.
October 30	Lenin writes his "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

November 1 Lenin, on the direct line to Petrograd, gives instructions for the concentration of big forces to rout Yudenich.

November 5 Lenin writes his article "Greetings to the Workers of Petrograd" on the occasion of the second anniversary of Soviet power.

November 6 Lenin's "Soviet Power and the Status of Women" is published; the article was written on the occasion of the second anniversary of Soviet power.

Lenin gives guidance to a session of the Political Bureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) at which it is decided to call an All-Russia Party Conference and an All-Russia Congress of Soviets. It was also decided to provide reinforcements for the Southern Front.

November 7 Lenin's "Two Years of Soviet Power" is published.

Lenin speaks at a joint session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions and factory committees on the occasion of the second anniversary of the October Revolution.

November 10 Lenin's letter "To the Communists of Turkestan" is published.

November 11 Lenin telegraphs to the Chairman of the Special Food Commission of the Eastern Front on the need to arrange food supplies for the Urals workers.

Lenin gives guidance to a session of the Council of People's Commissars which discusses the organisation of a single forestry body (Lenin drafts the resolution), the mobilisation of Soviet office workers to get in stores of firewood, the provision of fuel for the Tretyakov Gallery, the libraries and other cultural and educational institutions, the organisation of comrades' disciplinary courts, etc.

November 13 The circular letter from the C C., R.C.P.(B.) to Party organisations, "The Fight to Overcome the Fuel Crisis", written by Lenin, is published.

November 18 Lenin speaks at the First All-Russia Conference on Party Work in the Countryside.

November 21 Lenin conducts a preliminary meeting of a group of delegates who have arrived for the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East.

Lenin takes the chair at a meeting of the Political Bureau which discusses a draft resolution on Soviet rule in the Ukraine written by Lenin and adopts it.

November 22 — Lenin delivers a report to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East.

November 27 — Lenin instructs the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council to discuss the question of printing in the newspaper *Ekonomichcskaya Zhizn* (Economic Life) periodical reports on the development of the main branches of the economy.

November 29 — Lenin gives guidance to the plenary meeting of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) which discusses preparations for the All-Russia Party Conference and the All-Russia Congress of Soviets, the question of Soviet power in the Ukraine, etc.

December 2-4 — Eighth All-Russia Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks); Lenin guides the work of the Conference.

December 2 — Lenin delivers the opening speech at the Conference and is elected a member of the presidium; he takes the chair at the first (morning) session.

At the second (evening) session of the Conference Lenin delivers the report on the political work of the Central Committee and closes the debate on the report.

Lenin writes a draft resolution on foreign policy; the draft is accepted by the Conference.

December 3 — Lenin speaks at the third (morning) session of the Conference on Soviet power in the Ukraine.

At the fourth (evening) session of the Conference Lenin sums up the debate on Soviet power in the Ukraine.

December 4 — Lenin speaks at the First Congress of Agricultural Communes and Agricultural Artels.

December 5-9 — Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Red Army and Cossack Deputies. Lenin guides the work of the Congress.

December 5 — Lenin is elected to the presidium of the Congress at the first session, and delivers the report of the

All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars; he tables a draft resolution on foreign policy which is unanimously adopted.

December 6 — At the second session Lenin closes the debate on the report of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars.

December 8 — Lenin takes part in the discussion on the report on Soviet development at the second meeting of the organisation section of the Congress.

December 9 — Lenin is elected a member of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee at the fifth session of the Seventh Congress of Soviets.

Lenin delivers a speech closing the Congress.

December 11 — Lenin telegraphs Orel Gubernia Food Commissar to investigate the complaint of the peasants of Lavrovo Volost that grain requisitioning quotes are too high, and if it is true, to reduce them.

December 16 — Lenin writes "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

December (not earlier than 17th) — In two notes to D. I. Kursky! People's Commissar of Justice, Lenin indicates measures to combat red tape.

December 18 — The newspaper *Smena* (The Younger Generation) prints Lenin's message of greeting sent on the occasion of the Petrograd Komsomol's "youth week".

December 19 — Lenin speaks in Presnya District, Moscow, at a meeting in the Prokhorov (now Trekhgornaya) Textile Mill devoted to the December 1905 insurrection in Moscow.

December 20 — Lenin speaks on subbotniks at the Moscow City Conference of the R.C.P.(B.).

Lenin issues instructions to the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Eastern Front and the Fifth Army, and also to bodies of the People's Commissariat of Railways to adopt urgent measures to send to the centre no fewer than 200 locomotives needed to move army and food-supply trains.

December 21 — Lenin sends instructions to Tula Gubernia Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) and the Gubernia Executive Committee on the organisation of the urgent supply of food for Moscow.

December 23 — Lenin is chairman of a session of the Council of People's Commissars which discusses the question of improving conditions for scientists, the obligatory implementation of the laws adopted by the Sixth Congress of Soviets, etc.

December 26 — Lenin telegraphs instructions to the Kharkov Gubernia Executive Committee to bend all efforts to deliver coal to the centre and speed up the repair of locomotives.

December 28 — Lenin writes "Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine Apropos of the Victories over Denikin".

December — Lenin writes the draft resolution of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee on the Borotba Party; he raises the question of dissolving that party which has acted against the interests of the proletariat.

Second half of December — Lenin compiles the draft of a comparative table of food consumption by the people of the R.S.F.S.R. before the imperialist war and after the Great October Socialist Revolution; he sends the draft to the Central Statistical Board for review.

December 31 — Lenin attends a New Year's Eve meeting in the Corn Exchange in Basmanny District, Moscow, where he speaks of the victories of the Red Army and of the coming struggle to overcome economic chaos.

1920

January 5 — Lenin entrusts A. I. Sviderskу, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Food, to receive representatives of the workers of the Balashin Factory to discuss the question of supplies of food for the workers, and to inform him of the decision taken.

January 9 — Lenin gives guidance to a session of the Council of Defence which discusses measures to improve the coal industry of the Urals and others.

January 10 — Lenin writes a letter of greetings to a congress of women workers and peasants of Petrograd Gubernia.

January 12 — In telegrams to the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Third and Fifth Armies Lenin sends

greetings to the Third Army on the occasion of its conversion into an Army of Labour; in a note to A. D. Tsyurupa, People's Commissar for Food, he drafts decision of the Council of People's Commissars on this question.

January 13 Lenin speaks at a meeting of the communist group of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions on discipline and one-man or corporate management of enterprises.

January 16 Lenin speaks on the question of labour conscription at a meeting of the communist group of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.

In a letter to Tomsky at the Central Council of Trade Unions Lenin sharply criticises the red tape, bureaucratic methods and inefficiency of the trade Union leadership in respect of the employment of skilled workers to restore the railways; Lenin demands practical measures to combat bureaucratic methods.

January 17 Lenin gives guidance to a session of the Council of People's Commissars which discusses an increase in the area under crops, the work of the post and telegraph department (Lenin proposes amendments to the draft resolution), the abolition of the death penalty, measures to perpetuate the memory of Alesander Herzen, measures to improve the position of Soviet office workers, etc.

Lenin instructs M. V. Frunze, commander of the Turkestan Front, to speed up the building of the railway from Alexandrov-Gai to Emba and the transport of oil to the centre.

January 23 Lenin gives guidance to a meeting of the Political Bureau of the C.C.; introduces a draft directive on the compilation of Rules for the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

In a letter to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky Lenin gives instructions on the compilation of a plan for the electrification of the R.S.F.S.R.

January 24 Lenin makes marginal notes on the drafts for the Rules for the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

Lenin speaks at a non-party conference of workers and Red Army men in Presnya District, Moscow.

January 26 Lenin gives guidance to a conference on the co-operative movement; the conference discusses the unification of the various types of co-operatives and the abolition of the Council of Co-operative Congresses, and also the question of the role of consumers' co-operatives in the matter of food supplies; Lenin writes draft decisions and directives on the co-operative movement.

January 27 Lenin speaks at the Third All-Russia Congress of Economic Councils.

Lenin is chairman at a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars; he submits for discussion a draft message to the Polish Government in connection with the preparations being made by bourgeois Poland to attack the Soviet Republic. The meeting adopts decrees on the co-operatives and discusses questions of the management of state farms, foreign trade, etc.

January 31 Lenin guides the work of the plenary meeting of the Party C.C. that approves the resolution on Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

February 1 Lenin writes a letter to members of the Council of Defence in which he outlines a number of urgent measures arising out of the catastrophic state of railway transport.

Lenin writes a note about a draft instruction on bonuses for factory and office workers.

Lenin speaks at a conference of chairmen of gubernia and uyezd executive committee on the question of the tasks of the committees.

February 2 At the first session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Seventh Convocation, Lenin delivers the report on the work of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars.

February 3 Lenin gives instruction to the chairman of the Nizhni-Novgorod Gubernia Executive Committee to help the work of the Nizhni-Novgorod radio laboratory.

Before February 5 Lenin writes his "Draft (or Theses) of the R.C.P.'s Reply to the Letter of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany".

February 5 — Lenin speaks at a meeting of the railwaymen of Moscow Junction.

February 7 — Lenin writes "*À la guerre comme à la guerre!*"

February 9 — Lenin speaks at a non-party conference of workers and Red Army men of Blagusha-Lefortovo District.

February 14 — Lenin writes "A Publicist's Notes'.

February 17 — Lenin enquires of G. K. Orjonihidze about the state of the Soviet troops of the Caucasian Front; he insists on the adoption of urgent measures to improve their fighting potential.

February 18 — Lenin writes answers to the questions of the correspondents of the American Universal Service Agency and the British *Daily Express*.

February 21 — Lenin writes a message "To the Women Workers" on the occasion of the elections to the Moscow Soviet.

Lenin instructs the executives of the Alexandrov-Gai-Emba Railway construction job to take urgent measures to accelerate the building of the railway; he proposes that the People's Commissariat of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic provide the necessary funds, transport, fuel and materials.

February 25 — Lenin speaks at the Third All-Russia Conference of Directors of Adult Education Divisions of Gubernia Education Departments.

In a letter to the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Food Lenin proposes the urgent discussion of the question of improving the food supply of the workers of the Ukhtomsky (Lyubertsy) Factory, Moscow Gubernia.

February 27 — Lenin instructs the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic to turn all attention to the strengthening of the Western Front due to the need to prepare for war against bourgeois Poland in the event of her attack on Soviet Russia.

In a letter to the members of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Food, Lenin requests information on the possibility of increasing the food

rations of schoolteachers of Vesyegonsk Uyezd, Tver Gubernia.

February 28 — Lenin's reply to J. Longuet is read at the Strassburg Congress of the French Socialist Party; in this letter Lenin says that the French Socialist Party can be accepted into the Third International only on condition that the opportunists are expelled from the party.

February — Lenin is elected deputy to the Moscow Soviet by the workers of State Confectionery Factory No. 3 (now the Bolshevik Factory) and by the workers and office employees of Khovrino Station.

March 1 — Lenin receives a delegation of workers from the Glukhovo Textile Mills; he requests information from the People's Commissariat of Food, the Central Textile Board and the People's Commissariat of Agriculture concerning the food situation among the workers of that concern.

Lenin delivers a report to the First All-Russia Congress of Working Cossacks.

Lenin speaks at the Second All-Russia Congress of Medical Workers.

March 2 — The letter from the C.C. to R.C.P.(B.) organisations, written by Lenin, on the preparations for the Party Congress is published.

March 4 — Lenin writes his article "International Working Women's Day".

March 6 — Lenin speaks at a session of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies.

Lenin speaks at a special session of the Moscow Soviet on the occasion of the first anniversary of the foundation of the Third International.

March 9 — Lenin issues a directive to the Siberian Revolutionary Committee not to make any concessions to the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks during negotiations concerning their participation in the government that is being set up in the Far East.

March 10 — Lenin issues instructions to the people's commissariats on the convocation of a conference to elaborate urgent measures to improve the food situation of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers.

Lenin gives guidance to a session of the Council of Defence which discusses railway transport, the organisation of administrative sessions of the Council of Defence (tables amendments to the draft decision), the provision of workers to build the Kashira power station, the supply of food for the Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers, etc.

March 11 — In a telegram to G. K. Orjonikidze on the Caucasian Front Lenin gives instructions to transfer troops to the Western Front because of a possible attack of bourgeois-landowner Poland on Soviet Russia.

March 14 — Lenin writes a note to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky about the first draft of a programmatic announcement on the work of the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO).

In a telegram to S. M. Kirov in Astrakhan Lenin asks his opinion concerning methods of transporting oil.

March 15 — Lenin speaks at the Third All-Russia Congress of Water Transport Workers.

Lenin speaks at a meeting of the communist group of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions where he defends the principle of one-man management of enterprises.

March 16 — Lenin speaks at a Sverdlov memorial meeting held in the Bolshoi Theatre.

March 17 — Lenin sends a telegram to G. K. Orjonikidze at the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front containing a directive to concentrate all efforts on the capture of Baku.

March 19 — Lenin gives guidance to a session of the Council of Defence which discusses urgent measures for the security of the Republic's frontiers, water transport, and the setting up of a commission to compute the losses sustained by the Soviet Republic as a result of the attack by the imperialist powers and the blockade.

In a telegram to Maxim Gorky in Petrograd Lenin informs him of measures to improve supplies of food for scientists in compliance with his request.

March 22 — Lenin receives representatives of the Central Bureau of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East and talks with them about the formation of a Tatar Republic.

March 23	Lenin gives guidance to a session of the Council of People's Commissars which discusses the draft rules for the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia, factories that are to be placed directly under the central bodies of the Supreme Economic Council (Lenin drafts the resolution), timber concessions to Estonia, etc.
March 25	Lenin is elected delegate to the Ninth All-Russia Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) by the Moscow City Conference of the R.C.P.(B.).
	Lenin gives guidance to sessions of the Council of Defence and the Council of People's Commissars which discuss the transport of goods by water, increased deliveries of grain and fish to the centre, the formation of a Committee to Improve Scientists' Living Conditions, etc.
End of March	Lenin makes gramophone records of two speeches —"Work for the Railways" and "Labour Discipline".
March 29-April 5	Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Lenin guides the work of the Congress.
March 29	Lenin makes the opening speech at the Congress.
	Lenin is elected to the presidium.
	Lenin delivers a report on the political activities of the Central Committee of the Party.
March 30	Lenin closes the discussion on the Central Committee's report at the second (morning) session of the Congress.
March 31	Lenin speaks on economic development at the fourth (morning) session of the Congress.
March-April	Lenin writes his article "On Compromises".
April 2	Lenin sends a telegram to. G. K. Orjonikidze at the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front containing directives on the attitude to the Moslems, especially when advancing into Daghestan.
April 3	Lenin speaks on the co-operative movement at the eighth (evening) session of the Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.).

April 4-6 — Lenin speaks at the First (Inaugural) All-Russia Congress of Mineworkers.

April 5 — Lenin's election to the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) is announced at the tenth (morning) session of the Congress.

Lenin delivers a speech closing the Congress.

Lenin makes a short speech on the list of candidates for membership of the Central Committee.

The Congress delegates congratulate Lenin on his forthcoming fiftieth birthday; speeches are delivered by M. I. Kalinin, Y. M. Yaroslavsky, F. Y. Kon and others. It is decided to issue Lenin's *Collected Works*.

April 6 — Lenin writes a letter to Adoratsky in Kazan asking whether it is possible for him to gather material on the history of the Civil War and the history of the Soviet Republic.

Lenin gives guidance to a session of the Council of People's Commissars which discusses the nationalisation of stocks of books and the greater utilisation of books from Moscow and Petrograd to meet the requirements of the provinces and the rural areas.

April 7 — Lenin speaks at the Third All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions.

April 8 — Lenin writes his article "From the Destruction of the Old Social System to the Creation of the New".

April 16 — Lenin gives guidance to a session of the Council of Labour and Defence which discusses measures to increase the delivery of oil, the establishment of control over the consumption of fuel on the railways, the situation in the Donets Basin coal industry, and others.

April 19 — Lenin speaks at the Third All-Russia Congress of Textile Workers.

April 20 — In a telegram to the Baltic Fleet in Petrograd Lenin orders an immediate start to be made on preparing Petrograd port for the export of timber.

April 23 — Lenin speaks on the tasks of the Bolshevik Party at a meeting organised in honour of his fiftieth birthday by the Moscow Committee of the R.C.P.(B.).

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В. И. ЛЕНИН

СОЧИНЕНИЯ

Том 30

На английскот языке